

John Bowring

THE

KINGDOM AND PEOPLE

OF

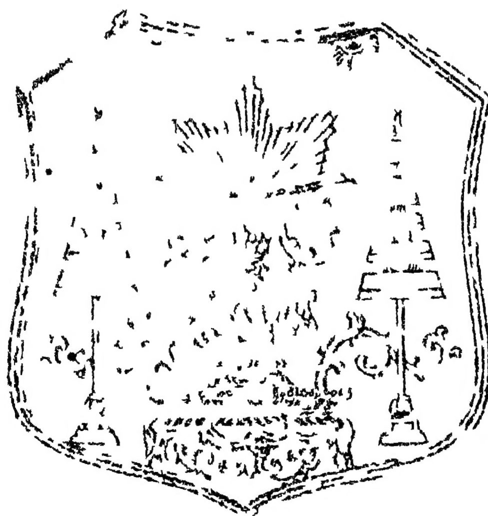
SIAM;

WITH

A NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION TO THAT COUNTRY IN 1855

By SIR JOHN BOWRING, F.R.S.

HER MAJESTY'S PLENIPOTENTIARY IN CHINA



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THE

KINGDOM AND PEOPLE OF SIAM.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEPENDENCIES UPON SIAM.

THE knowledge we possess of the countries dependent on Siam is of a very imperfect and fragmentary character. I have collected from various sources such information as has been accessible to me; and that information concerns principally the Laos and Cambodian territories.

Of the various tribes and tongues which formerly occupied these regions, "the thousand unknown nations," Camoens thus speaks:—

O'er these vast regions see a varied throng
Of thousand unknown nations crowd the coast;
The Laos both in lands and numbers strong,
Avas and Birmahs in their mountains lost,
And savage Gueos, scarcely seen among
The deep recesses where the barbarous host
On human flesh with brutal hunger feed,
And with hot iron stamp their own—rude deed!*

Ves neste grão terreno os differentes
Nomes de mil naçoes nunca sabidas;
Os Laos em terra e numero potentes
Avàs, Bramas, por serras tám compridas—

Laos.

The *Laos* races are divided into two very distinct sections—those who *tatoo* their bodies, and those who do not. The tatooed, or *Black-bellies*, occupy the districts of *Xieng Mai*, *Laphun*, *Lakhon*, *Muang Phrë*, and *Muang Nan*. The non-tatooed (*White-bellied*) live in the districts of *Muang Lom* and *Muang Luang Phra Bang*.

The Laos country is renowned for the finest specimens of the *lan* palm, upon whose leaves the religious records and teachings are written with a sharp-pointed *style* or bodkin. Over the characters so inscribed, ink is passed, which penetrates into the indented parts, and is washed away from the smooth surface of the leaves.

The Laos spoken language is a modification of the Siamese: so close is the resemblance, that the two nations easily understand one another. The Laos writing, however, is more like that of Cambodia than of Siam.

The dress of the Laos people approximates to that of the Siamese. A long scarf is wrapped round the loins, and the ends, passing beneath the thighs, are pushed under the drapery behind. This garment is called a *langouti:* a jacket frequently is worn with it, and sometimes a cloak over the shoulders. Vests, ornamented with gold and silver threads, are used by*

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* Ve nos remotos montes outras gentes
Que Gueos se chamam, de selvages vidas,
Humana carne comem, mas a sua
Pintam com ferro ardente—usança crua.

Lus., can. x., cxxvi.

the nobles. The Laos, like the Siamese, wear a tuft of hair on the top of their heads, which looks like a black brush, the skull being shaven all round the tuft at every new moon. Sandals are rarely worn; and when used, they are but a slip of hide fastened to the sole of the foot by strings of the same. But women and children wear heavy bracelets and anklets of gold and silver, and necklaces of glass when more precious substances are not obtainable. Charms, on engraved plates of silver or copper, are also generally worn by children, as protections against the supposed influence of evil spirits.

The Laos houses are built upon piles of wood, and made of bamboo canes, ingeniously interlaced, and roofed with leaves. Beneath the floor, buffaloes, cows, pigs, goats, and poultry are collected; and frequently a single apartment serves for all the purposes of a large family. But in Laos, as in Siam, the temples and pagodas are costly, and even beautiful, enriched with gold ornaments, and glittering in the sun with various colours.

Of the character of the Laos people, Pallegoix* expresses a most favourable opinion. He says, they are peaceful, submissive, patient, sober, faithful, frank, and simple,—but credulous and superstitious. They are honest, abhor theft, and one of their Kings is said to have condemned robbers to be fried alive in a pan of burning oil. But the moral tone has been lowered of late years, in consequence of the visitations of war and the presence of much misery.

* Pallegoix, i. 38.

Their food is rice, fish, poultry, pork, venison, buffalo, and abundant varieties of vegetables. But their favourite dish is fish, prepared by exposure to the sun, and afterwards steeped in brine, of which they make a paste and eat with their rice, using red pepper as the condiment. But they eat also serpents, lizards, rats, bats, frogs, and other animals. They are, in fact, almost omnivorous.

The common people seldom employ either earthenware or porcelain. They eat out of wicker-work vessels, wrought with much art. The Second King of Siam gave me a beautiful specimen, which had been used in the service of the Laos Prince. The form is graceful, and it is very richly gilded and ornamented. A chest which contains their silken garments, baskets of bamboo and wicker work, compose the whole furniture of the household: they have neither chairs, nor tables, nor benches, nor beds; a few mats minister to all the requirements of meals or rest.

They hunt, they fish—they are trained to spear fish from their childhood—and use the gun and the *sarbacan* with equal dexterity. The *sarbacan* is a long, hollow bamboo, through which they blow an arrow, which seldom fails to hit the intended prey

They cultivate rice and maize, the sweet potato, calabashes, red pepper, melons, and other fruits. They clear the jungle by burning the trees and bushes, and the ashes add to the natural fertility of the soil. The Chinese purchase largely among them ivory, skins, gold-dust, silver and copper, gums, cardamoms, lac, wax, dyewoods, cotton, silk, &c., for which the small wares of China are usually exchanged.

Warlike qualities they have few. We saw many Laos companies among the troops at Bangkok. Their appearance was miserable enough: they were grotesquely clothed, strangely armed, and rudely disciplined; mostly small in stature, with little vigour or

They honour the medical art. Pallegoix says that marvellous cures are effected by medicinal plants unknown to Europeans. They attribute great value to lustral water, which they administer after fastening to the legs and arms threads of cotton which have been blessed by the priests, in order to control the power of malevolent genii. Like the Chinese, they attribute great healing and other qualities to the teeth and bones of tigers, serpents, and animals remarkable for courage; to the gall of the boa, the bear, the monkey, and other beasts; to the fat of crocodiles, the horns of the rhinoceros, the bezoar stone, &c.

The Laos are Buddhists. Of their religious belief, Pallegoix says, "They honour the statues of Buddha, but render more worship to the *genii* and the demons than to their idol. Of these genii there are several sorts:—1st The wood demons (*phi phrai*), whose authority is exercised in the deepest forests, into which if any one have the temerity to penetrate, especially during the night, he often disappears, and nothing more is heard of him. But sometimes the adventurer is transported to an enchanted land, where he leads for years a life of illusions, but finally escaping from their magic influence, he finds himself at the door of his hut, hardly recognisable by his wife and children, who had ceased to re-

member him. Sometimes these wood demons are reported to punish the invader of their territories with malignant fevers, which destroy him in a few days.—2nd. The *phi lok*, or fear-giving demons. These are busied in frightening human beings by all sorts of illusions of sight and hearing. At night they haunt the neighbourhood of men's abodes; they wander about the public roads, and exhibit themselves in all sorts of monstrous shapes—3rd. The malignant demons (*phi pob*) These are the objects of special apprehension, on account of their voracity. There are certain sorcerers who are supposed to control these demons; and when one person means to injure another, he makes a present to the sorcerer, who compels the attendance of the demon, which enters the body of his victim, gradually devours the entrails, heart, and liver, so that he pines from day to day, and at last expires.—4th. The *thevada*, or tutelar genii, who occupy the huts of the natives, and protect their families. These guardian angels must be treated with great kindness, or disease will attack the family, the rice-crop will perish, and misery enter the dwelling. They are conciliated by an erection at one end of the hut, upon which small pyramids are raised, from whence loose cotton threads are suspended, which, being blown into the house, convey the friendly genius thither, his seat being on the top of the pyramid, where he holds his watch, and keeps away evil spirits, tigers, serpents, and every cause of mischief. To him a small altar is erected, near the place of honour, in every house. This is his throne, and thence he

issues his commands, and is always at hand to be consulted in cases of difficulty. At the altar, offerings are presented of wax candles, odoriferous woods, rice, and arrack—for he is deemed a genial and a jovial spirit. Every morning and evening, a vessel of steaming rice is placed before him, whose fragrance he is supposed to enjoy. Now and then, he is reported to have emptied the rice-pot. His hospitality has something jealous about it, for he is said not willingly to allow a guest to remain more than three nights in the hut of a Laos family; and it usually happens that after a stay of three days, the stranger receives a hint that it would be well he should depart, in order to avoid the displeasure of the *thevada*."

At the foot of a high mountain, on a wide plain, *Xieng* (or *Chieng*) *Mai*, the capital of Laos, is built, and is said to contain a population of 50,000 souls. It is a double-walled city, with double fosses around the walls. Xieng Mai has the reputation of being the *refugium peccatorum* of the Siamese, especially of persons unable to pay their debts,—a class dealt with very harshly by Siamese law and usage. The fare of the people is said to be miserable, and money extremely rare. Elephants are commonly used for war, for travel, and for carrying burdens. It is said that after the harvests are gathered in, the people are given up to idleness. Salt is the principal instrument of barter. The women are more laborious than the men, and are reported to exercise a despotic domestic sovereignty. The city is crowded with Buddhist

temples, and priests, who are accused of living very profligate lives. On the top of the mountain there is a Buddha's foot, an object of great veneration.

Xieng Rai, another city in the same district, has been often taken and retaken from the Birmese. It was captured by the Laos in 1844.

There is a considerable trade with the province of Yunan in China, carried on by mules, which require a month for the journey, through woods and mountains.

Xieng Mai is a city of great antiquity. *Phra Ruang*, who was King of Siam towards the end of the fifth century, married his brother to a princess of Xieng Mai, and gave him the government of the country.

In the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, there is a report written by M. Grandjean, a Catholic missionary, from which the following extracts have been made. He left Bangkok on the 5th December, 1843, and returned thither at the beginning of the rainy season in the following year. Passing up the Meinam as far as Thoen, his party abandoned their boats, and engaged elephants to travel through a country of immense mountains and perilous defilés, where they had only the shade of forest-trees to protect them by day, and large fires at night to keep off the multitudes of wild beasts. At a cost of twenty-six francs for elephants, and food for a party of six persons, they reached Xieng Mai,* the capital of the Laos country, on the 18th

* The ancient capital of Laos was called *Lan'Chang*, which means "ten millions of elephants." Master or General of the Elephants is usually one of the titles of the Phra Kalahom or Prime Minister of Siam.—La Loubère, p. 89.

January, 1844. "At daybreak," speaking of the journey, he says, "they cook the rice, which they quickly eat, and then travel for four hours in the morning without stopping. They then make a second meal, similar to that of the morning; after which, they abandon themselves to merriment and to prattle near the fires which they have kindled for the night.

"There are ordinarily distinguished two kinds of Laocians—one of whom are called *Thaung Dam*, that is, *Black-bellies*, and the other who are called *Thaung Khao*, that is, *White-bellies*. They are thus named, because the men of the race of *Black-bellies*, when they arrive at the age of fourteen or sixteen years, are accustomed to have drawn upon their bodies different figures of men, flowers, elephants, tigers, serpents, and other animals. This operation they perform by making, by means of many needles joined together, a number of punctures upon the epidermis; they then apply a black ink, which brings out all the designs traced upon the skin; they quietly bathe themselves afterwards, and the impression is ineffaceable. The tatooing is not executed without pain; for they are obliged to bind the patient, who generally continues sick for fifteen days, and sometimes even dies. However, as the young Laocians cannot obtain wives if they lack this kind of beauty, there is not one amongst them who does not voluntarily submit to this painful operation. The *White-bellies*, on the contrary, are contented with their natural graces.

"All these people extend, on the north, to the frontiers of China; on the south, to the kingdom of Siam; to the east, they reach to Cochin China and Tong King;

and on the west, they touch the Birman Empire. The western region belongs to the *White-bellies;* the *Black-bellies* occupy the provinces of the east. They are divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms, of which the prince of each has the power of life and death; but, with the exception of two or three only, these princes are dependent on the King of Siam, who nominates them or deposes them at his own pleasure: they are, moreover, obliged to pay him an annual tribute. Nevertheless, as they are at a great distance from Bangkok, and as if united they could cause the whole power of Siam to tremble, the Sovereign Prince has a great respect for them; he manages these crowned vassals gently, and always makes them some presents when they carry their tributes.

"In general, the *White-bellies* do not much regard their talapoins or their idols; their character approaches to that of the Cochin Chinese, and it appears that it would not be difficult to convert them to Christianity. The *Black-bellies*, on the other hand, have a nature which differs very little from the Siamese: they are strongly attached to their pagodas, to their religious books, and whoever amongst them has not been a talapoin, for some time at least, is generally despised; they call him *schon-dib*,—that is, *hard man*, or profane,—and he cannot easily find a wife: they are otherwise subject to the most gross superstitions."*

Grandjean resided for two months and a half at

* *Chinese Repository*, xvi. 338–9.

the capital. It bears the name of the whole kingdom, Xieng Mai. He says—

"This kingdom is the farthest to the west of all the States of Laos, and it is also one of the most considerable. Xieng Mai is built at the foot and to the east of a pretty high mountain, on a large and beautiful plain. It has a double girdle of walls, both surrounded by broad and deep ditches. The interior circumference is—if the King is to be believed, who told me—a thousand fathoms long by nine hundred broad. As this city is built somewhat similar to all those of India,—that is, the houses do not touch each other, and are surrounded by trees and little gardens,—it is not easy to estimate the population. The eldest son of the King assured me that it contained more than one hundred thousand souls; but he evidently exaggerated, and largely. After having traversed Xieng Mai many times and in all directions, I do not believe that we can give it more than twenty thousand inhabitants, even including the different suburbs which are without the walls. To the east of the city, and at only three or four minutes from the fortified space, runs a river, the banks of which are partly covered with houses: unfortunately, they are all inhabited by the bankrupts of Bangkok, who have fled there, changing their names, to shun the pursuit of their creditors. The King willingly gives them asylum, because they increase his power and revenues. In this State the villages are very numerous; but not having seen them, I cannot state the total population.

"Kine, pigs, and poultry are plentiful: on the other

hand, there are few fish, and those very small, and almost no vegetables; so much so, that during Lent, and on the Fridays and Saturdays, we had nothing to eat but eggs, with the leaves of a very bitter kind of radish: there was every day the same repetition, without any change. The pigs and fowls are reserved for rich persons. Money also is so scarce, that few families could allow themselves the use of flesh. They commonly live on rice, without any other seasoning than a kind of very strong red pepper—to which the mouth of a European can scarcely accustom itself,—or little fishes, which they pound and cause to rot previously: I never could prevail upon myself to eat them.

"These people have a great many cattle, very small, which have scarcely any milk, and which they never think of using. When we told them that in our country the milk of the cow was much esteemed, and that it formed a savoury food, they laughed, and only held our countrymen in contempt. As for oxen and elephants, although they also abound, the inhabitants seldom kill them, and only eat the flesh when they die from old age. They are employed in cultivating the fields, to carry the cotton which they purchase in the neighbouring kingdoms, and to bring in the rice in the harvest-time.

"This transport, which I have often witnessed, is made in too curious and too amusing a manner not to have a word about it. They beat the rice upon the field where they have collected it; then, when the grain is gathered into heaps, they go every morning, each with a train of fifteen, twenty, or

thirty oxen. The first of these oxen, that is, the one which walks at the head of the troop, generally has the head covered with garlands, surmounted with a bunch of peacock's feathers, and the neck surrounded with little bells. All these animals have two kinds of baskets on their backs, which hang on each side, and which are filled with rice, after which they return to the city, making a dreadful bustle; for the bridge which is at the gates of the city, not having a breadth of more than two fathoms, the convoys which are entering come in contact with those going out. A general *mêlée* results. Each one runs hither and thither to find his wandering cattle; the shouts of the drivers, the lowing of the oxen, are mixed with the ringing of a thousand bells. The elephants at a grave pace come into the midst of this rout, with their large bells, which have each a different tone; then the buffaloes, scared by the ringing, open, by charging all in the breach, a merciless gap, followed by their masters, who cry: *Nen tua ha di Hhuai Souak!*—that is, Take care! take care! a mad buffalo! At last, the idle spectators, who gather in crowds, increase the tumult more by their cries and their incessant shouts of laughter. The whole makes a truly comical affray—a scene made up of the trunks of elephants, horns of oxen, of Laocian sticks, which rise, fall, and cross in all directions; and the spectacle, which commences at break of day, is prolonged until nine or ten o'clock, the time when the carrying is stopped, because the sun has become too hot. Such, for some is the labour, for others the sport, of the month of January.

"With these people, the cultivation is almost confined to rice. Industry is by no means flourishing. As the river which flows to Bangkok is very dangerous, (from Xieng Mai to Rahang, thirty-two cascades are reckoned, where many boats are lost each year,) and the communication with the other towns can only be made by elephants, and across mountains without end, there are few of the Laocians who devote themselves to commerce. As for those who have gathered in their harvest, they live in almost perfect idleness until the month of June or July, when they again begin to labour their fields. For the same reason, they have very little currency, and almost all the purchases are made by barter. Salt, above all, holds a very important price in their transactions; with it they can procure whatever they want: it comes from Bangkok, and is sold very dear at Xieng Mai.

"The laws of the kingdom are of a very severe nature: for a considerable robbery, they have the penalty of death; and for a simple larceny repeated three times, the same sentence is incurred. Theft is therefore not so frequent as at Bangkok. Although there are a great number of drunkards at Xieng Mai, (the natives make all the wine of rice, which they drink to excess,) they very rarely fight or dispute. During the whole time that I lived in this country, I only heard of one quarrel, and that was between females. One of these, in her anger, having wished to destroy the hut of the other, the latter carried her complaint to the Prince, who quickly arrived with a troop of followers, seized the brawler, and put her in

irons, where she remained for more than two months; and it was only by the influence of money that she was released.

"Although I have stated a little above that the character of the *Black-bellies* differs little from that of the Siamese, I believe the former, however, more curious, and, above all, more beggarly: this last quality, if it is one, in them goes so far, that it has many times happened that the Minister of the King himself has asked us, sometimes for a fruit, which he eat before us as a child would have done,—sometimes for two or three eggs, which he carried away with him. I would not wish to decide which of these two people is the most cunning and most deceitful: however, if it was necessary to adjudge a premium, I would give it to the Laocians, who impose the more easily on account of their more free and more open exterior. They are, besides, without respect for decency. I have sometimes reproached them with having no other religion than the depraved desires of their heart, and they have acknowledged it without blushing.

"As regards the women, they are more active, more industrious, and more intelligent than the men. They have an undoubted empire over their husbands, and can drive them away when they are not content with them. If the Prince had not forbidden under pain of death the embracing our holy religion, they would certainly not have been slow in turning Christians; and their husbands would not have missed following them.

"At Xieng Mai there are nearly as many pagodas as houses: we cannot take a step without encountering

them to the right or the left. There are reckoned in this city alone at least a hundred, which are each inhabited by ten, twenty, or thirty talapoins, without mentioning those, in very great numbers, which have fallen into decay, and which they do not repair. As for these talapoins, they are almost all young men who scarcely know how to read, and who pass their time in sleeping, gaming, or in doing worse still.

"Departing from Xieng Mai, we reached the same day another small kingdom, called Lapoun, to the south of Xieng Mai. On our arrival, we repaired to the seat of government, the town-hall of the place, where we found six to eight mandarins, who assembled there every day to hear the complaints of the people, adjudicate disputes, and administer the public affairs, almost entirely entrusted to their care. They asked us who we were, from whom we came, and what business had brought us to the country. They knew already, for many of them had been at Xieng Mai; but these are the questions with which they are accustomed to begin the conversation. We took advantage of them to announce the good tidings of Jesus Christ. A mocking laugh was almost the only answer which they gave us. They permitted us, however, to instal ourselves in a kind of room, situated within the city, where we admonished, from morning to night, the curious who came to examine us. We were never at rest. During the night, forty to fifty talapoins met outside of our asylum, beating the drum, and uttering vociferations which did not allow us an instant of repose; sometimes they even threw stones against our dwelling, but without, nevertheless, pushing the insult further.

"After having uselessly complained at the town-hall, I took the resolution of going alone to the King. I entered his palace without being announced, and spoke to him with such boldness that he was afraid, and immediately prohibited these talapoins from molesting us in future. They obeyed him; but as these people were anything but disposed to receive the Word of God, we shook the dust from our feet, and directed our course towards the south-east.

"After four days' journey, always in the midst of mountains, having nothing but rice and eggs to eat, we arrived at another kingdom, called Lakhon: we rested there twelve days, only reaping, as the fruit of our exhortations, contempt, railleries, and insults. These things would have been carried even further, if we had not had letters from Bangkok. As they believed that these recommendations had the seal of a Royal prince, their malevolence did not dare to come to blows. Seeing, then, this people rebellious against grace, we resolved again to continue our journey, always towards the south-east, and always across mountains without end.

"Until now, I had travelled on the back of an elephant; and although the motion of this animal is extremely rough and incommodious, I had found myself until then very much at ease; but at this last station, not being able to procure more than the elephants required for the transport of our effects, it was necessary for us to have recourse to travelling on foot. This was in the month of April: the heaven was of fire; the heat had withered the leaves of the trees, and caused them to fall; the springs were nearly all dried

up; and the pathways which we followed consisted of very sharp rocks, or of a burning sand. On the first day, my feet suffered so much that, on arriving at the place where we were going to sleep, the skin was all blistered. The following day, not being able to put on my shoes, I found myself in the evening with the soles of my feet quite burnt: when we arrived at the third station, I could scarcely advance a step. In order to avoid the extreme heat of the day, I took with me one of my servants, and we pushed on in advance in the morning, calculating to halt at mid-day and wait for the elephants. Unfortunately, the guide overslept himself.

"Not finding anything arrive, we began to fear that the tired caravan had halted before reaching the place of rendezvous. What was to be done? The day was declining, and we were dying of hunger; to retrace our steps without knowing if it would be possible to go far, was impossible—we were without strength; to pass the night without fire in the midst of tigers, that would be scarcely practicable. What was to be done, then? As we had been told that there was before us, at a short distance, a small village, we rallied our strength, and decided on going to demand hospitality in this hamlet, where we would wait for our elephants, which could not fail to pass it on the following day.

"The night advanced very fast, and we could not discover any habitation. My servant could go no further; I still hobbled on; but I began to think that we would be obliged to go to rest fasting, when, at last, we found near to us a little cabin. We went and demanded an asylum. The people whom it sheltered,

not having reaped any rice this year, had nothing to eat but buds of trees, with a kind of wild potato which grows naturally in the forests. These potatoes would be deadly poisonous if they were eaten without caution: before being used, they are cut into pieces, steeped in water for some hours, exposed to the sun until they are well dried, after which they are cooked; but they are only eaten when they have no other food.

"These poor people told us that they had nothing else to give us, but that if we would go to the chief of the village, whose house was not far off, we would there get a little rice. We followed their advice, and after we had drunk a cup of water we set out. On our arrival at the chief's, I told him who I was, and how I came to knock at his gate; further, that I prayed him to give some food to two men who were dying of hunger, promising to recompense him on the following day when our elephants should pass. He gave us a little cold rice, mixed with the wild potatoes which I have above mentioned. This rice was pressed into a kind of rush baskets, of which the opening was just large enough to admit the hand. My domestic and I seated ourselves on each side, and by turns we plunged our hands into this strange *ragout*. It was so unpalatable, that it was necessary to drink at each mouthful in order to make it go down.

"On the following day, our elephants did not arrive. They told us that, undoubtedly, they had taken another road which passed at three leagues from the village where we were; we sent to search for them, and only on the second day we learnt that they had been seen on the route of Muang Tae, and that before long they

would reach that town. At this news, my hosts made me a *ragout* with the skin of an elephant's paunch, and I departed. My sores were not all healed, but it was necessary to advance, *bon gré, mal gré;* for my *confrère*, from whom I had been separated for three days, was in greater pain than myself. I rejoined him at Muang Tae the same evening. This time my feet were so bruised, that I was laid up for a week without being able to walk.

"We approached the rainy season: it was time to think of returning. We then quitted Muang Tae, and after having again slept four nights in the mountains we reached a Siamese town called Tait, upon a different river from that by which we had ascended. There we bought a vessel, and in twelve days we arrived at Bangkok. This journey has so blanched my hair, that every one puts me down at sixty at least; they call me the *old father*. I am, however, always in excellent health, and I reckon myself strong enough to go again. God will, perhaps, some day bless our labours."*

In a letter from Father Bruguière, dated Bangkok, April 1, 1829,† he says,—

"The King of Laos, tributary of Siam, who revolted and sought assistance from the King of Cochin China, has been taken and brought to Bangkok: he has been confined, as well as the whole of his family and many of his mandarins, in an iron cage. They have been exposed in the midst of a public square to the insults

* *Chinese Repository*, xvi. 340 *et seq.*
† *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xx. p. 217.

of the populace. They are all condemned to death. It is said, the King was disposed to pardon them, but he was opposed by his first minister, remembering what he had suffered in this miserable war. They have been for two months in the same place, except the King of Laos, who died in prison. His death did not save him from the ignominy of execution; for he had hardly breathed his last, when he was decapitated. He being dead, it is possible his family may obtain mercy."

The people of Laos present their gifts almost furtively. "Their mode of showing attentions had a peculiar delicacy. When they render their homage to a person they desire to honour, they avail themselves of the excitement of conversation to place near the person of the recipient the articles they desire him to accept: they salute, and retire in silence. It is their maxim that presents ought not ostentatiously to be made."*

In the Laos country, oval ingots of base metal circulate as currency.

The earthenware jars made by the people of Xieng Mai (Zimmy) are much esteemed as water-coolers. They are very porous, and of various colours—white, red, and black. Some of them are mounted in silver. The Prince Krom Hluang Wongsa presented specimens of this pottery to such officers of our Mission as were desirous of receiving them.

Over the mountainous districts to the north of the Laos country, João de Barros† says, the Kings of

* *Annales de la Foi*, xxvi. p. 160.

† *Decadas*, vol. v. p. 158.

Siam held a very imperfect authority. The natives fought on horseback, were fierce and brave, and had never been subdued. But Laos, which was divided into three kingdoms, notwithstanding many rebellions, recognised the sovereignty of and paid tribute to the Siamese. De Barros reports that the ruder mountain tribes, whom he calls "Gueos," eat human flesh, and that they are the races described by Marco Polo as belonging to the kingdom of Cangigu. They paint and tatoo their bodies, and frequently descend from their mountainous abodes to invade and devastate the lower countries.

Dependent upon Laos, or Xieng Mai, is a small territory called *Laphun*, whose capital, Laphun Xai, contains about twelve thousand inhabitants.

Cambodia.

Cambodia, or *Camboya*, was anciently called *Kamphucha:* its modern name is *Khmer.* It was formerly an independent kingdom, extending from 8½ to 20 degrees of North latitude; and its authority was recognised by many of the Laos districts, and by Siam itself. But for three centuries its influence has been on the decline. Large portions of the ancient territory have been appropriated by Cochin China on the one side, and Siam on the other; and Cambodia Proper is now reduced to two internal (*Photisat* and *Kampong Suai*), and two maritime provinces (*Kampong Som* and *Kampot*). Pallegoix reports, that in 1844, while a Cambodian prince, of the name of Ongduang, was a prisoner at Bangkok, his brother

the King, who had taken refuge in Cochin China, was put to death; whereupon Ongduang obtained his liberty and the recognition of his sovereignty from the King of Siam. He was conducted with royal honours by a Siamese army to his capital, where he was received as the legitimate sovereign, and reigns at the present time. But he is held to be dependent upon and tributary to the Siamese monarch.

Cambodia has the sea on the south, Siam on the north and west, and the river Mei Kong as its boundary to the east. The west side is mountainous and wooded, sloping down towards the plains in the east. Rice, ivory, silk, cardamoms, eagle-wood, and gamboge (which takes its name from the country that produces it), are the leading articles of produce. The number of inhabitants is about half a million, of whom seven-tenths are Cambodians, and the rest Siamese, Chinese, and Cochin Chinese.

Kampot is the principal—indeed, the only port of Cambodia. Pallegoix affirms that there are seldom less than sixty junks in the harbour. The ancient capital was destroyed by the Cochin Chinese; the present abode of the King is at Udong, the inhabitants of which do not exceed twelve thousand persons. The King's palace is in the centre of a fortification, which is in the middle of the town. There are a few houses built of planks, but they are generally constructed of bamboos.

At the northern extremity of Cambodia is Lake Thalesap; it is sixty miles in circumference, and abounding in fish, among which there is one called

savai, highly appreciated as a delicacy, which is salted with the ashes of the palm-tree. The art of preserving fish seems to be better understood in Siam and its dependencies than in any other part of the world. I have never tasted salted fish comparable in excellence to those which were provided for us in Siam. There is a large demand for exportation, and it is said that more than seventy cargoes are despatched to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

Not far from Lake Thalesap are the ruins of a vast palace, whose columns, pyramids, and pagodas remain, sculptured in marble, of such elaborate workmanship, that the Cambodians boast they were produced by the fingers of angels, and not of men. Pallegoix refers the erection of the edifice to the reign of Phra Pathum Surivong, when the sacred books of the Buddhists were brought from Ceylon, and Buddhism became the religion of the Cambodian people.

The Cambodians are less advanced in civilization than the Siamese, whom they much resemble. The women manufacture the silk garments which are worn, whose colours are appreciated for their stability, and the patterns are not without grace and beauty.

The *Khmer* language is peculiar. It has taken all its religious terms from the *Pali*; in other respects it has no resemblance to the neighbouring dialects. It is crowded with consonants, and the letter *r* frequently occurs, though its force is modified, as in the English. They have an alphabet of their own, which, the Jesuits inform me, is somewhat complicated and obscure.

The ancient coinage of Cambodia has been replaced by the moneys of Siam.

Catholic Christianity made some progress in Cambodia two centuries ago, having been introduced by a regiment of Portuguese soldiers who were in the service of the King. About five hundred Christians remain. The Pope has established a vicar apostolic (Bishop Miche), whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making in Bangkok, whither he had come for the recovery of his health, and from him I learnt many interesting particulars as to the produce and prospects of the country which is the field of his missionary labours. He seemed earnestly devoted to his work,—careless of privations, dangers, and sufferings. He had lately traversed the perilous jungle, where day after day, and night after night, he found scarcely the trace of man,—no succour, no shelter,—the elephants which convoyed him making their way through the scarcely ever traversed forests. But though oppressed with lassitude and sickness, I heard no complaint: his path of duty seemed clear before him, and in that he resolutely walked. It is impossible to look on the dedication of these missionary-wanderers to the task allotted to them by their master, without wonder and admiration. No amount of labour or of privation—no menace of peril, persecution, or even death, diverts them from their onward but often darksome way.

In order to give an accurate idea of the Court and King of Cambodia, I can scarcely do better than extract some particulars from the narrative of a Madras officer who visited the capital in 1854.

who has published at Singapore an amusing and instructive account of his journey.*

"At about eight o'clock A.M. (May, 1854), we sent Baba Kee (the interpreter) in to the King, to inform him of our arrival, and to request that better accommodation might be given us. In an hour after, Baba Kee returned, having had an audience of his Majesty, who had invited us to occupy rooms in a suite of apartments immediately contiguous to his palace; and we gladly took advantage of the King's offer, and removed to the place assigned to us. This was part of a long oblong building, constructed very like our house at Campoot, only not near so comfortable and substantial, being divided (native fashion) into a great many very small rooms, having no communication with each other, except by the doors opening into the verandah, common to all, and just reversing our ideas of comfort, as the godowns below, used for storing goods, &c., were very lofty, and the rooms immediately above, which the people live in, are low, and, of course, exceedingly hot. A long, narrow verandah, with ladders at the ends, extended all along the front of the apartments upstairs. We had four rooms given us in this building, and a godown downstairs as a kitchen; the remaining eight apartments being occupied by a lot of women, who, we were told, were the mothers-in-law of the crown prince, and their attendants. These fair ladies took good care to isolate themselves from us, as, when we

* *Three Months in Cambodia.* By a Madras Officer. Mission Press, Singapore.

took possession of our side, we found workmen putting up a temporary partition in the verandah, thus separating their rooms entirely from ours.

"At about ten A.M. we received a message from the King to come over and see him. We, however, excused ourselves for the present, as the boxes containing our wearing apparel had not yet arrived from the last stage; but we promised his Majesty that directly our things came up, we would lose no time in paying our respects to him. At noon we received our boxes, and then prepared to dress for the audience. C. and V. put on plain civilian clothes, black coat, &c.; and I donned my full-dress regimentals, which I had brought from Singapore purposely for the occasion, having heard from my brother that the King particularly wished to see a British officer's uniform. Having sent Baba Kee on a little beforehand to inform his Majesty of our being in readiness for an interview, we were ushered into his hall of audience, and sat down on chairs at the lower end of the room awaiting the King, who, they told us, was inside his zenana, or women's apartments.

"The durbar, or hall of audience, appeared to be a spacious and lofty apartment about forty feet square, entirely open at one end, looking into a paved passage separating it from another small room, likewise open at the side facing the passage. This small room was used as an office for the King's 'simeons,' or clerks, of whom we saw some six or seven busily engaged in writing letters and casting up accounts. Two sides of the hall communicated with suites of apartments at the back and right of it, those at the

back of the durbar leading into a large paved courtyard half roofed over. This was the place where the King retired of an evening to enjoy the *dolce far niente*, and to amuse himself by seeing his women dance, and hearing other performances on various musical instruments. The rooms on the right are appropriated for the use of his women, of whom he has about three hundred, besides four married wives. At the furthest end of these rooms is the King's private sleeping apartment.

"Various articles of European, Japan, and Chinese manufacture were ranged round the sides of the durbar: daubs of pictures in gilt frames, by Chinese artists, were placed side by side with line engravings; and large mirrors, and antique glass tumblers and decanters of various uncouth shapes, together with large glass jars with ground stoppers, such as preserved fruits are generally sent from Europe in, were considered worthy of a place close to some magnificent specimens of Japan ware, similar to those exposed for sale in the European shops at Singapore. A common Chinese bamboo couch was placed near a beautiful marble table, with massive carved pedestal and feet: this, we were told, was a present to the King from Mr. A. Ships' signal-lanterns hung from the ceiling in juxtaposition with handsome large globe lamps, and huge Chinese lanterns with glass chandeliers. A more motley collection of things valuable, and articles not worth the picking up, was, perhaps, never brought together. The King evidently thought everything equally precious; for a common glass phial and sand hour-glass were

taken as much care of as a fine Japan cabinet or a Dresden porcelain vase. On the marble table was laid a very handsome desk of Chinese japanned work, a part of which was only appropriated to its legitimate purpose of holding papers, &c.: the various partitions for wafers, wax, ink, sand, &c., were deemed by the King as admirable places for tobacco, betel, cardamoms, &c., and stuffed full accordingly of these delicious and necessary condiments. Five or six watches were hung up on the wall close to the King's seat at the marble table: the whole lot would, perhaps, have realized at a fashionable pawnbroker's five or six dollars. These extraordinary horological specimens must have dated their existence from the good old times of our great-grandfathers, being very heavy, and almost as large and thick as warming-pans, with works inside of corresponding dimensions.

"After making us wait upwards of a quarter of an hour, his Majesty walked, or rather waddled in, attended by a host of young women, and seated himself in the arm-chair, near the marble table, immediately opposite to us. A couple of ladies stationed themselves at each side of the King, and commenced fanning him with great vigour; an operation he seemed to stand much in need of in hot weather, for he is enormously fat, and his whole body appeared to glisten with an oily perspiration. His appearance is not at all king-like or imposing, being dull-looking, with a heavy, stolid air about him, and his face and breast much pitted with smallpox. His age is apparently fifty, but he himself told us he was upwards

of sixty. He wears very little clothes, only a sarong round the lower part of his body, leaving the upper part down to the waist quite naked; in fact, were it not for a gold band with a diamond and ruby clasp fastening the sarong round his middle, he could not be distinguished from a common cooly. His head, according to the Cambodian fashion, was closely shaved, with the exception of a small tuft of very short, bristly hair at the top of the skull.

"All his women, except the two who were fanning him, remained in a body, crouching on the ground, at the further end of the room: they all appeared to be very young, and were doubtless the best-looking girls we had seen in the country. Many of them had soft and regular features, and were it not for the disgusting habit of blackening the teeth and shaving the head, only leaving the short tuft of hair I have mentioned before, might really be called pretty, as all had most elegant figures, with those gracefully-curved, flowing outlines, and plump development, sculptors love so well to delineate, as forming the chief grace of feminine beauty. These odalisques were very thinly clad, wearing salendangs, and a long silk scarf thrown loosely over one shoulder and across the body: this piece of dress seemed to be used more as an ornament than as a necessary covering, for it was often allowed to slip off the shoulder, and had to be every now and then re-adjusted. We were told the greater proportion of the King's women were the daughters of his ministers, and other men of high rank, who all vie with one another for the honour of furnishing a fresh inmate for the

royal harem. They not only consider it an honour to the family, but a possible source of future aggrandizement to the father and brothers of the girl, should she captivate the affections of the King; for petticoat influence is as powerful in Cambodia as elsewhere in more civilized places.

"It was amusing to see the constrained and uncomfortable crouching posture all the ministers, and others allowed the *entrée* to the durbar, threw themselves into directly the King appeared in sight: even our interpreter, Baba Kee, was obliged to imitate their example of going down on their knees, supporting the weight of the upper part of the body on the elbows, with the palms joined and raised above the head, which they dared not to lift up, but kept constantly looking on the ground. If any one had to approach the Royal person, to give him anything or to obey a call, however far the distance, Cambodian etiquette prescribed a crawling progressive motion on knees and elbows.

"Our interview began by that indispensable custom in Oriental countries, of presenting nuggers or offerings to the King. Our present consisted of about two yards of very gaudily-printed oil-cloth, two skins of black patent leather and a couple of ditto of yellow morocco, a one-hour and a half-hour glass, a couple of large toilet-bottles of essence, with a dozen pairs of white cotton socks. His Cambodian Majesty appeared to be much pleased with the things, and after minutely examining each article, gave them in charge to one of his women. He then asked our names, and who and what we—that is, Mr. G. V. and

myself—were, and our object in coming to his country. He appeared to be much gratified when he was told that I had come purposely to see him, having heard he wished much to see a British officer. He admired my uniform vastly, and actually condescended to get off his chair and walk up to where I was seated, for the purpose of more minutely inspecting each separate article of accoutrement. He was particularly pleased with the epaulettes, which he thought were all of gold, and of course of great value. The texture of the red cloth in the coatee next excited his admiration, and I do believe, if I had weighed 18 stone instead of 8 stone 6 lbs., so that my habiliments would have fitted the portly figure of royalty, the King would not have been satisfied without purchasing, or trying to get as a present, my whole military outfit.

"We told him we had brought with us various philosophical instruments, such as galvanic batteries, electro-magnetic machines, a still for spirits of wine, oil and spirit lamps, spirit blow-pipe, and a complete set of gilding and silvering apparatus on a large scale, with chemicals, &c. These instruments we offered to show him, as well as to plate and gild something in his presence. He inquired particularly about the use of the electro-magnetic machine and galvanic battery, which he said he had heard of in Siam, and was most curious to try the shock. He named the next day for our exhibition, and then began talking about his coining-machine, which he had lately received from Europe through Messrs. A. & Co. at Singapore. This, he said, he had put up,

with the assistance of a Siamese from Bangkok, and that he had begun coining silver money, but that there was something the matter with the machine; it would not work so quick, or stamp as many blanks in a day as he had been informed the maker had said it could do: added to which, he thought the machine was not complete, as the blanks had to be made by hand, which was very tedious work. He, therefore, requested us to examine the machinery, and if we knew what was wanting, to inform him, that he might commission it from Europe. We readily assented to his request; and, getting off his chair, his Majesty waddled before us to show the way to the strong room in which he kept this valuable specimen of European engineering skill. On examination, we found the machinery itself in good order and properly fitted up, but several auxiliary apparatus wanting to complete a regular coining-press, such as a rolling and flatting mill, and a punching-machine to cut out the blanks: a hopper or feeder to be supplied with blanks was also not forthcoming. The King complained of these deficiencies, and said he had paid a great deal of money, thinking he was to have a perfect engine for coining purposes. He complained also of no diagram or plan being sent out by the maker to assist his people in putting the press up, and said, had it not been for the Siamese from Bangkok, who understood a little of engineering, it would have been impossible for him or for any of his people to have done anything with it. As it was, the King said the press lay in pieces for nearly a year, no one, not even the French priest

being able to assist him, or give him the least hint as to putting it up. The coining-machine was of beautiful workmanship, J. Ingram & Co., of Birmingham, being the makers. It was intended to be worked by bullocks; but when it was finally put up, the King preferred working it by manual power, which could be more readily regulated than animal power. Unfortunately, one of the dies was cracked, and, of course, useless. The King took a note of the deficient machinery, and said he would write to Messrs. A. & Co. to have them ordered from the same maker, together with a complete fresh set of dies.

"We had already been talking to the King for three hours, and, I think, had we not intimated our wish to retire, he would have kept us another three hours; but it was no joke in such hot weather to sit buttoned up to the throat in ball-room dress, as we were. As soon as we were gone to our apartments, the King sent us presents, in return, I suppose, for ours. The Royal gifts excited our mirth a good deal: they consisted of half a pig, a picul of white rice, and thirty choo-choos. This last is the currency of the country—and a very inconvenient one it is. The only coin current in Cambodia besides the silver bar, worth fifteen Spanish dollars, and the Siamese 'kop,' worth about half a dollar, is the *petis:* this is made of an alloy of zinc and tin, very thin, and so brittle as to be easily broken between the fingers. It has Chinese characters on one side, and a square hole in the middle, for the purpose of a number being strung on a cord like the Chinese cash: the coin itself is Cochin Chinese, but is current over a great

extent of country, including Cochin China, Tonquin, Laos, Champa, and Cambodia. Six hundred petis go to a choo-choo, seven of which are equivalent to a dollar; the choo-choo is again divided into ten *teans*, of sixty petis each: so that the comparative values of the Straits and Cambodian currency are as follows:—

Petis.	Tean.	Choo-choo.	Spanish Dollar and Cents.
60	1		= $1\frac{3}{7}$ cents.
600	10	1	= $14\frac{2}{7}$ do.
4200	70	7	= one Spanish dollar.

"Ten choo-choos are generally tied together in a bundle for convenience of carriage, &c.; the weight of the bundles is enormous, four of them weighing a picul. We received from the King three bundles—their equivalent value in Straits money being equal to the magnificent sum of four dollars and twenty-eight cents, or thereabouts: it certainly looked a great deal, and was just about as much as a man could carry.

"The next morning early, we began to unpack and arrange our philosophical apparatus, so as to be in readiness for his Majesty, thinking he would come about mid-day: his curiosity, however, to see the things was so great, he could not restrain himself, and before we had finished unpacking the King was announced. He came attended, as usual, by a number of women, so that the little room in which we were was quite blocked up. His Majesty seated himself on the table on which all the apparatus was arranged, and began to examine everything, asking numberless questions regarding the construction, use, and q

price, &c., of each article. He evinced much delight at the electro-magnetic machine in connexion with Smee's batteries, and made all his women try the shock, he himself holding them by the ears to prevent them from running away. We told him this machine was often used by our doctors to cure rheumatism, &c., and, if properly used, was a very valuable curative agent. The King then said he had stiff ankle-joints, and pain in his feet and legs, with a swelling on the right heel near the 'tendon Achilles:' this had annoyed him for some time, and baffled the skill of all the Royal physicians. He said, if we could cure him, he would give us two hundred dollars. We refused the reward, saying we were not medicos, and therefore it would be presumption in us to undertake a cure; but, at the same time, advised him to try, regularly every day for a fortnight, galvanism and Holloway's ointment, a pot of which we had brought with us. The King said he would give it a trial, and would come again in the evening for us to administer it: he then went away, and, according to his promise, favoured us with another visit at six P.M.; this time bringing fewer women, but ten or twelve of his ministers, who were all anxious to see our wonderful machine, reports of which had by this time spread all over Oodŏng. His Majesty first allowed his ministers a trial, winking to me to give each a powerful shock. One stout old gentleman could not let go the conductors, but kept gripping them tight, looking the very picture of terror and writhing like an eel, perspiration rolling off his brow in big drops, making powerful efforts to prevent himself from bellowing out in

presence of the King, who seemed to enjoy the scene vastly, laughing till his fat sides shook again. After all had experienced the shock, his Majesty asked us to begin operating on him, which we did for a quarter of an hour, and then rubbed in Holloway's ointment.

"This evening we showed the King the effects of the spirit-lamp and blow-pipe, and promised the next day, if he would let us have a larger room to do it in, to distil some spirits of wine from shamshoo, as well as to put the gilding and silvering apparatus into action. He said we should have accommodation in the large court-yard, which I have mentioned before as being the place where the King retired of an evening to see his women dance, &c., and ordered his people to have all the things taken over at once: he then went away, and next day, early, sent to tell us all was in readiness, and to request we would come over as soon as possible.

"The greater part of the forenoon we were busily engaged in preparing the necessary gilding and silvering solutions, of which an immense quantity was required; for the King insisted upon our making the first trial, in his presence, on three very large, beautifully-chased silver salvers, which he wished to have gilt. This we did to his satisfaction, and much to his delight: he immediately sent for a favourite goldsmith of his, to learn the way, and write down the names and uses of each article. All the time the work was in progress, the King and his women were watching our proceedings with the greatest curiosity and attention.

"At about ten A.M., his Majesty went to pray

in an elevated place at the further end of the court-yard: this pious task he was engaged in for nearly an hour, his back being turned to us, and his whole mind absorbed in prayer. The mischievous young ladies present, who composed his personal attendants, took the opportunity, and surrounded us on all sides, beseeching and coaxing me to gild a number of little articles of finery they had about them, such as silver and copper rings, ear-rings, betel and tobacco boxes, &c. I did a few for them, but found it a very troublesome and never-ending work, for as fast as one batch was done another was produced, and so on: we were, therefore, ungallant enough to turn a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and placed a number of the proffered articles on a table close by, with a few that had been already done. The young ladies were so intent upon coaxing and begging, that they neglected to take the things away, or to watch for the return of the King, who came upon them quite suddenly, making them fly in all directions like a herd of frightened antelopes. At first the King took no notice; but when he saw the ladies' jewellery on the table, he got very angry, thinking all the gold he had given for the purpose of gilding his silver trays had been abstracted from the solution for the sole use and benefit of his *care spose.* He seized on one unfortunate damsel (who, it seemed, had been ordered previously by him to keep the others in check, and prevent them from troubling us, and who had therefore neglected her duty), and administered with his own Royal hands, in our presence, a wholesome castigation with a rattan.

" At about four P.M. dinner was announced, and his Majesty invited us to partake of it. We, of course, could not refuse such an honour, and found a table laid out quite in the European style, with a chair for each person. The table had rather a dirty piece of *blachu* spread on it, which served as a tablecloth; the plates and dishes were part of a very handsome set the King had received from Singapore as a present; the knives and forks looked as old as Methuselah, but had evidently been once a capital lot, for the handles were of porcelain profusely gilded, &c.: the steel part about them was, however, in woful condition, the blades of the knives looking more like pieces of old iron hoop than anything else, and encrusted with rust, and had, doubtless, never been cleaned or polished since they left the maker. The spoons were of the common composition metal sold so cheap in Singapore and elsewhere. The tumblers were very antiquated articles, and must, I should think, have been sold by weight, for they were tremendously heavy, and their sides nearly a quarter of an inch thick. The edibles consisted of various sorts of stew, very similar in taste and appearance to the Siamese dishes we had been favoured with in the house in the bazaar the first night of our arrival: everything was, however, if possible, still more greasy, and abounding in pork fat, &c. To do us honour, I suppose, a roast duck, trussed and cooked in European style, was also on the table; and, what was better than all, plenty of first-rate Bass's bottled beer was produced from the Royal cellars. The second course consisted of various sorts of sweetmeats and fruit, with a bottle of rather

indifferent port wine. Three or four favourite Siamese attendants were serving at table on their knees; and during dinner seven or eight ladies treated us to a Cambodian concert on various musical instruments.

"Before we left the Royal presence, the King made us promise to come over early the next morning to show him the method of silvering metals. By this time we were all quite tired of manipulating, but did not like to refuse obliging his Cambodian Majesty, so consented to spend another day with him, never dreaming of the trouble we should have in operating upon a large brass vessel, standing nearly three feet high, and upwards of twenty gallons capacity, which was used by the King as a bathing-tub. This enormous vase, which put me in mind of Morgiana's oil-jar in the old story of Ali Baba or the Forty Thieves, to our great astonishment was produced the following morning, as the article on which we were to try our skill in plating. We represented the difficulty of silvering such a Brobdignagian affair without proper troughs for immersing it in, &c., but all to no purpose, as the King seemed to have set his heart upon having it done, and overruled all our objections, by saying he was sure it was just as easy to work upon a large article as a small one, and that, as for a trough, he had an earthenware vessel quite big enough to contain it. Seeing he would not listen to us, but insisted upon our trying, we set to work, and, after a great deal of trouble in preparing fresh solutions, &c., succeeded in giving the brass bathing-tub a thin coating of silver by means of the electro-plating process, with which his Majesty was perfectly satisfied.

"Our work being finished, we were again honoured with an invite to the Royal dinner, which was quite the same as that of the day before. The meal being over, the King sent for his four married wives and three of his daughters, to introduce them to us, and to allow them to get each a shock from the galvanic machine, the effect of which, it seemed, they wished much to experience. The lawful partners of the Royal bed appeared to be all pretty well stricken in years, but paid as much respect to the person of the King as any of his subjects, bending the knee and grovelling in the dust when approaching or addressing him. The daughters were of very different ages; one quite a child, the second appeared about fourteen or fifteen years old, and the eldest, we were told, was about twenty-five. This last was very plain, and, like her father, much marked with smallpox; the King told us she was to be given in marriage to a prince of Siam. The four wives were dressed all in black, much in the Chinese fashion; but the daughters were lightly clothed in salendangs and scarfs of different colours, exactly similar to the dress worn by the King's concubines. The Princess Royal seemed to be a great favourite of her father's, and much respect was paid to her by the courtiers, being invariably addressed by the same title as the King himself, viz., "Pōco-Napursers," or Your Highness. This title we did not hear given to any of the other sons or daughters, so I conclude it is used exclusively in Cambodia to the eldest offspring of both sexes who are born in the purple.

"We asked the King this evening for carts and

ponies, saying we wished to start the following day. He accordingly ordered three ponies and one travelling cart to be in readiness whenever we should require them. We then took leave of his Majesty, and proceeded to our quarters, rather fatigued with our day's work, but, I am afraid, not as much impressed as we doubtless ought to have been with the great honour shown us, in having dined twice with such an exalted personage as the first cousin of the Lord of the White Elephant."

Mandelsloe gives the following account of Cambodia in the middle of the seventeenth century (Dr. Harris, vol. i., p. 782-3):—

"The kingdom of Cambodia borders to the north-west upon the kingdom of Siam, being enclosed by the sea on the other side. The capital city is seated upon a river sixty leagues from the sea-shore, which rises out of a lake, as do all the other rivers of this kingdom. That which runs by Cambodia overflows every year, like the Nile; its first rise is in the beginning of June, increasing by degrees to ten or twelve feet, and in July or August it overflows the country to that degree that it is quite unnavigable; for which reason it is that the city of Cambodia is built upon a rising ground, having but one large street. The trade of the Portugueze here consists chiefly in Malacca stuffs, which they exchange for benjamin, lacque, tea, rice, brass vessels, and bars of China iron.

"The King of Cambodia is only a vassal of the King of Siam, being not able to bring above thirty-

five thousand men into the field. The nobility or officers of the Court are divided into four several ranks, viz., into *ockinas*, *terminas*, *tenimuas*, and *nampars*; the first of which are the only men of consideration, they being admitted into the King's presence, and he confers with them concerning the management of public affairs. The Portugueze are so firmly settled here, that the Dutch have never been able to get any footing. Provisions of all sorts—venison, beef, pork, goats, kids, hares, conies, herons, and, in short, all manner of poultry, as likewise oranges, citrons, mangoes, and cocoas—are sold excessively cheap; there being such plenty here of everything, and especially of rice, that those of Quinam alone export yearly two thousand copangs of rice, five of which make eight tons, at seventeen or eighteen taels the copang."

There is a considerable trade with Kampot, the principal port of Cambodia; and the trade appears to be carried on independently of Siam. The articles of export are rice, gamboge, pepper, dyewoods, and some minor articles; of import, cotton goods, hardware, opium, and sundries. Square-rigged vessels are now employed between Kampot and the Straits Settlements; and, from the fertility of the country, there is no reason why commerce should not be largely extended.

Dependencies to the North-west of Bangkok.

The *Kareens* are held to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of Siam, who abandoned the country

when the *Thai* invaded it, and built the capital of Ayuthia. They retired to the mountainous regions on the east and west, which they occupy to this time. They are of larger stature than the Siamese, agile, robust, and hardened against fatigue. Accustomed from youth to labour and privation, they willingly pursue the toilsome forest explorations. Their physiognomy, especially that of the women, is mild and pleasing.

The men wear a white-sleeved robe, which reaches midway down their legs; they have a belt round the waist, and a simple cotton cloth rolled about their heads. They allow their hair to grow, and bore their ears, which they ornament with feathers of birds and silver hollow cylinders. The women wear a *sarong*, or petticoat, over which is a vest, ornamented with bits of coloured glass and adornings. They have also necklaces, and surround their heads with a cotton cloth, whose two ends fall over their shoulders. Their ears are elongated by the suspension, from a large bored hole, of flowers, precious stones, gold and silver ornaments.

Their huts are made of bamboos, and are ascended by a rude ladder: bamboos, calabashes, baskets, and a few coarse mats, form the whole of their furniture. These habitations are only built for temporary use: the people migrate year after year from one spot to another, burning and clearing away a space for the cultivation of the rice they consume. They have no books or written laws, their legislation being traditional. Their chiefs are elected, not hereditary, and exercise a paternal and protective influence.

The Kareens are believed to have a common ancestry with the Laos, whom they much resemble. They recognise a good and an evil spirit. The good genius being well disposed, they do not deem it necessary to conciliate him; hence all their sacrifices are offered to the maleficent genius. They have no priests or pagodas, no assemblages for worship or religious displays. They address their supplications to the evil spirit when they have any favour to ask, or evil to avert. This absence of religious forms and prejudices in favour of any particular system has made the Kareens willing converts to Christianity, and the Protestant missionaries have had considerable success among them.

They possess many excellent moral qualities; they are sober, trustworthy, and truthful. Polygamy is unknown among them. Hospitality is so universal, that it is claimed without hesitation, and granted without stint. A visitor is always welcome to food and shelter, and they distribute willingly among one another whatever they possess in superfluity.

They are wholly uneducated. Fishing, hunting, and the simple cultivation of rice and vegetables, are their sole employments. A candidate for the hand of a virgin must escalade her cabin, and is expected to overthrow a strong man placed for her defence.

They burn their dead, but rescue from the ashes a portion of the skull, which they suspend from a tree, with the clothes, ornaments, and arms of the deceased. They dance, singing lugubrious songs, around these relics, which the elders afterwards con-

vey to and bury at the foot of some distant mountains, charging the spirit of the departed not to return to molest his family, as all his earthly possessions have been interred with him.

The account given by Mr. Judson of the Kareens* is, in some respects, less favourable than that of Bishop Pallegoix. Their early history seems quite a matter of conjecture, but they are supposed to emanate from the aboriginal inhabitants of the regions in which they dwell. Mr. Judson calls them meek, peaceful, simple, and credulous, with many of the softer virtues and few flagrant vices. They are drunken, filthy, and indolent; but their morals, in other respects, are superior to those of many more civilized races. In their traditions, truths and absurdities are mingled. They have tolerably definite ideas of a Great Being who governs the universe (?), and many of their traditionary precepts bear a striking resemblance to those of the Gospel. Not being Buddhists, they have been persecuted by Buddhists; and this had, undoubtedly, disposed them more willingly to receive Christian instruction.

One of the earliest Protestant missionaries to Birmah was struck with groups of strange, wild-looking men, clad in unshapely garments, who now and then passed his abode. He heard they were a numerous race who kept aloof from other men, and were as untameable as the mountain birds. He redeemed one of them from slavery, and converted him. Through him, his fellows were reached. They

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* Wayland's *Memoirs of Rev. Dr. Judson*, vol. i., p. 540-4; Boston, 1853.

had no strong prejudices, professed no religion; their traditions led them to expect instruction from the West white-faced teachers, who were to give them knowledge of God. The missionaries brought civilization with Christianity—at all events, its rudiments; reading and writing were introduced, and the Kareens found, to their amazement, that the meaning of a spoken word could be conveyed by a written sign.*

The *Lava* tribes inhabit the mountains to the north-west, and have much affinity to the Kareens. They cultivate the cotton plant, and manufacture of it a coarse tissue much used in Siam for shirts and musquito curtains. Women weave these stuffs. The holes in their ears are large enough to hold a hen's egg. The *Lava* seldom quit their country, but are visited by Chinese and Siamese who barter for the produce of their forests, and the trade is considerable.

* The principal Protestant missionary labourers among the Kareens are the American Baptists. The results of their labours in 1852-3 are thus given:—

	Stations.	Out Stations.	Missionaries.	Female Assistants.	Total Missionaries and Assistants.	Native Preachers and Assistants.	Churches.	Baptized.	Present Numbers.	Boarding Schools.	Pupils.	Day Schools.	Pupils.	Total Schools.	Total Pupils.
Moulmein Kareens	2	17	4	6	10	45	40	134	1750	5	343	—	—	5	343
Tavoy Kareens	2	17	7	7	14	20	19	74	1000	3	92	17	250	20	342
Other Kareens	2	44	5	4	9	44	45	288	5000	1	86	15	150	16	2

Pages printed, 5,263,200.

Dependencies between Straits of Malacca and Gulf of Siam to the South and South-west of Bangkok.

Of the districts between the Malacca Straits and the Gulf of Siam, *Tringanu* is said to be fertile and well wooded. The population consists of about fifty thousand souls, independently of from ten to twelve thousand Chinese settlers. Gold and tin are found in the sands of the rivers.

The country is governed by a rajah, who inhabits a city bearing the name of the district. Tringanu has fifteen hundred houses; those occupied by the Chinese being built of bricks—those of the Malays of bamboo, covered with palm-leaves. Tin money is current, and the bazaar is well supplied with articles for the common wants of life.

In the province of Tringanu, the Malays collect gold and tin grains from the sands of the river, and trade in these metals. They carry on in Kalantan a trade with Singapore in metals and pepper.

Kalantan is separated from *Tringanu* by the *Batut* river, and by the *Banara* from *Patani.* It has about sixty-five thousand inhabitants, among whom are a great many Chinese, mostly engaged in bartering Chinese articles against the productions of the country. The country is divided into fifty parishes, each having a local government, but the whole subject to the authority of the King of Siam.

Patani, or *Thani*, is another of the dependencies on Siam. It has a population of about one hundred thousand, of whom more than half are of the Siamese race. Three of its provinces border the sea, and two are

inland. Patani was well known to and is often spoken of by ancient navigators, and was for some time the principal depôt of foreign trade with Siam, Cambodia, and China. The province was formerly altogether in the hands of the Malays, and revolted against the Siamese, who conquered the inhabitants, and carried away the majority of them into slavery. Rice, salt, gold, and tin are the principal productions of Patani.

Quedah occupies more than two degrees of latitude, five to seven north, and has the Straits of Malacca for its boundary on the west. Its Siamese name is *Muang Sai*, or the Sai Kingdom. A high range of mountains divides it from Songkhla and Patani. It is covered with vast forests, which have never been penetrated by man, and which are crowded with wild animals, and particularly tigers. The population, which does not exceed from sixty to seventy thousand souls, is principally composed of Malays. Since the cession to the British of Penang, which is close to the coasts of Quedah, a considerable trade has grown up with the Straits Settlements.* Quedah has many rivers, of which several are navigable. The capital (Quedah) contains about seven thousand inhabitants. There are many populous islands along the coasts, the largest of which is Lang Kavi, occupied by five thousand Malays, by whom it is tolerably cultivated.

The true name of the district of *Ligor*, called by

* Camoens speaks of Quedah as the principal district for the production of pepper.

> Queda que he só cabeça
> Das que pimenta alli tem produzido.
>
> *Lus.*, can. x., cxxiii.

the Siamese *Muang Lakhon*, or the Lakhon Kingdom, is, according to Pallegoix, *Nakhon si Thamarat.* It was founded by the King of Ayuthia about four centuries and a half ago, and occupies two degrees of latitude from north to south, and about one hundred miles of longitude from east to west. It has two dependencies, *Thalung* and *Songkhla*, governed by relatives of the King of Ligor. There have been frequent but unsuccessful attempts to detach the kingdom from its dependence upon Siam; but, at the present time, intimate alliances between the King's family and that of the most influential nobles of Siam will serve to cement the friendly relations of the two countries.

Ligor has one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of wnom three-fourths are Siamese; the rest consist of Chinese, Malays, and some of the aboriginal races, who occupy the unexplored forests of the interior, which contain trees of the most gigantic size, on some of which the lowest branches are at the height of one hundred feet from the ground. Wild beasts tenant the jungle, and the lakes and rivers are infested with crocodiles.

The capital is in the midst of a fertile plain, and has about twelve thousand inhabitants. It boasts of some magnificent pagodas, and is on the banks of a deep and navigable river, on which the junks carry on a considerable trade in the products of the country, such as rice, pepper, ivory, gold and tin, woods and drugs.

The Ligorean galleys are highly adorned and well equipped: they are celebrated for their speed

and the dexterity of the rowers; their sails are of white cotton, which prettily contrasts with the coarse plaited sails of the Malays. The gold and silver smiths of Ligor have a considerable reputation for the art of adorning silver vessels with gold-leaf. There is some resemblance between this work and that of the Toola manufacture in Russia, on which, on a black ground, gold and silver decorations are exhibited. I have understood antimony to be the metal employed for darkening the silver.

Dependencies to the North-east and South-east of Bangkok.

Nan has a capital, *Muang Nan*, said to contain sixty thousand souls. It is situated in a fertile valley, in about the same latitude as *Xieng Mai*, and is watered by a river which has many rapids, but which in the rainy season is employed for conveying rafts of teak-wood for sale. One of the Laos tribes, called *Lu*, is reported to be engaged in perpetual warfare with the people of Nan.

Phre is a small tributary kingdom, fertilized by a river which flows through a chain of mountains bordering the districts: its fall is very precipitous, but the plain which it irrigates is well cultivated. The capital, *Muang Phre*, has about fifteen thousand inhabitants.

The capital of *Lakhon* is a fine city, with twenty-five thousand inhabitants. It stands in a fertile plain, overlooked by ranges of wooded mountains, where the teak-oak grows exclusively. There is a considerable population spread through numerous villages.

Korat is a small district between Siam and Cambodia. Its native name is *Nakhon Raxa Sema* (frontier town). The town is on the top of a plain, which can only be reached by traversing for several days a perpetual ascent through a dangerous and dreary forest, called *Dong Phaja Fai* (forest of the fire-king). All sorts of tales and legends are told of the perils to which travellers are exposed in penetrating the gloomy solitudes, which, no doubt, are often fatal to life. The city has seven thousand inhabitants; the district, about sixty thousand. The copper mines are said to be rich, and the country produces and exports most of the articles which are common to the districts surrounding the Gulf of Siam. In Korat, several sugar manufactories have lately been established.

Still more remote, and therefore less absolutely dependent than many of the countries, are various small tribes situated to the east of *Korat*, whose princes recognise the authority of Siam, and pay tribute to the King; among them, *Phu-Khiau* (the green mountains), and *Suvannaphum* (the golden land). Their population consists of mixed races of Laos and Cambodians; but their inaccessibleness leaves them little known to travellers. But the natural productions of the country have nothing, it is said, to distinguish them from those of Siam and Cambodia.

On one of the branches of the Meinam which joins the river in the neighbourhood of *Ayuthia*, the ancient capital, at a distance of a month's journey, is

a small tributary district called *Muang-Lom*, situated in a valley surrounded by mountains seldom traversed. The capital has a population of about ten thousand persons, and the petty sovereign sends yearly to Bangkok, as tribute, copper, palm-leaves for writing, wax, gum benjamin, ivory, varnish, and other produce of the country.

Luang Phra Bang.—Anciently, on the great Cambodian river, the Mei Kong, there were three *Laos* kingdoms,—*Muang Phuen* on the north, *Luang Phra Bang* in the centre, and *Vieng Chan* to the south. But the victories of the Siamese have absorbed *Vieng Chan* and annexed it to their own territory, while the greatest portion of the inhabitants of *Muang Phuen* have been carried into captivity. Meanwhile, the kingdom of Luang Phra Bang has greatly extended itself towards the north, and carries on a large trade with Siam, and with the adjacent Cochin Chinese districts, especially with a Chinese race called Lolos. The capital contains about eighty thousand souls. The kingdom recognises the sovereignty of Siam. Its productions resemble those of the Laos countries.

To the north of *Chantaburi* (which means the nutmeg country), stretching towards the east, is a range of mountains forming an almost circular barrier, whose defiles are guarded by a tribe called *Xong*, who carefully exclude all visitors that are objects of distrust. The tribe recognises a chief, whose authority is said to be absolute. Crimes are rare, but are punished with extreme severity.

The *Xong*, or *Chong*, are reported to have had their

origin in migrations from the Kareens, and a variety of fugitives from various neighbouring States, seeking an asylum in regions so difficult to penetrate.

The dress of the men consists of a cotton cloth simply tied round the waist; that of the women, of a coarse petticoat with various-coloured stripes. They are accused of poisoning the wells and fountains on their frontiers, so as to prevent the influx of strangers. They supply the market of Chantaburi with forest-woods, gutta-percha, wax, cardamoms, pitch, resins, and eagle-wood, which they bring when the river is flooded, and exchange principally for iron ware, salt, kapi, and objects of primary necessity.

The collection of wax exposes them to many dangers. The wild bees, which are of gigantic size, usually build their cells on the top branches of a colossal tree, at the height of 150 feet. The bees take flight, having been driven away by large and smoky fires, kindled at the foot of the trees; and the next day, the Xong mount these trees by driving into the trunk blades of hard wood, which they mount by standing on one while they force another with their hands into the trunk above. Before attempting to ascend, they offer up a sacrifice to the genius of the place; and having approached the combs, they loosen them with a long and light bamboo, which causes them to fall to the ground.

Pitch is collected by cutting a deep hole at the foot of the tree, in the shape of an oven: a fire is kindled, but not allowed to burn long, and the Xong collect the pitch as it exudes from day to day. Its quality is much valued; mixed with resin, it is em-

ployed for ships, and in its liquid state for painting. Torches are manufactured by digging a hole in the ground, into which pieces of rotten wood are thrown, and pitch being poured in, a thick paste is made and moulded by the hand. It is then enveloped in long leaves, and being cased in bark, rattan threads tie the whole compactly together.

CHAPTER XV.

DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF WESTERN NATIONS WITH SIAM.

I.—*Portuguese Missions.*

THE Portuguese may be called the discoverers, or re-discoverers, of Siam; but we are imperfectly informed as to the relations which the great Lusitanian adventurers had with the Siamese, though we have abundant evidence that no other European nation established so early an intercourse, obtained so strong a hold, or has left so many traces behind it in Siam, as the Portuguese. Their purposes mingled the conquest of territory with the propagation of the Catholic faith; but I do not find in the Siamese annals any record of formal treaties, either with the Court of Lisbon or any of the Portuguese factories established to the east of the Cape of Good Hope.

The anticipations of poetry have not been realized as regards the influence of Lusitanian prowess upon the futurity of the Siamese dominions. "Time was," the King of Siam said to me in the presence of hundreds of prostrate nobles,—"time was when we considered Portugal as the greatest country in the world; but yours is the country to which we must

now look, and it is your alliance we desire to obtain."

The vicissitudes of nations are melancholy records; and I was often oppressed with sadness when, in the wretched and ignoble races, many of which still bear illustrious names, I looked upon the descendants of those who accompanied the Albuquerques, the Da Gamas, the De Castros,* and the Pachecos, and other heroes of epic song, in their days of triumph,—days in which

> From Western Lusitania passing o'er,
> Through distant oceans never crossed before,
> They left behind them Taprobana's shore,
> And in remotest regions kingdoms founded,
> Thro' which the glories of their names resounded.†

There is, indeed, something pathetic in the appeal made by Camoens to the King of Portugal, in which he seems almost to anticipate the downfall of Portuguese influence and authority in the East, and prays his Sovereign never to allow the admiring Germans, Gauls, Italians, or

> English, to say
> That Portuguese were made, not to command,
> Nor to enforce obedience—but obey.‡

* Albuquerque terribil, Castro forte,
E outros em quem poder não teve a morte.
Lus., can. i., xiv.

† Da occidental praia Lusitana
Por mares nunca de antes navegados,
Passaram ainda alem da Taprobana, ...
Entre gente remota edificaram
Novo reino que tanto sublimaram.
Lus., can. i., i.

‡ Fazei, Senhor; que nunca os admirados
Alemaês, Gallos, Italos, e Inglezes,
Possam dizer que são para mandados,
Mais que para mandar, os Portuguezes.
Lus., x., clii.

Dr. Harris's account of the relations of the Portuguese with Siam is as follows (vol. i., p. 694–5):—

"The Kingdom, or, as some called it, the Empire of Siam, lies next to Pegu, and is a country of vast extent, the monarch of which was too powerful for the Portuguese to think of making any great conquest in his dominions, and therefore they chose to live with him upon good terms, for the sake of the vast trade carried on in his dominions, which are extremely well situated for commerce, having on one side the kingdom of Laos, Camboja, and Cochin China, and on the other the countries bordering on the Gulf of Bengal. Besides, there annually resorted thither a fleet of merchant-ships from China, laden with all the rich goods of that empire. They continued to hold a fair correspondence with this monarch and his subjects as long as their power subsisted in the Indies; but, by degrees, the Dutch have in a great measure excluded them from their influence here since 1630, when they erected their factory here, and have since wrought themselves so effectually into the confidence of this prince, that he has granted them an exclusive privilege of purchasing all the tea in his dominions, which is a branch of commerce of prodigious importance: yet the Portuguese are not wholly ejected, though their trade is much fallen from what it was. There are several small principalities in the isthmus, before one comes to the country of Malacca, which were all of them formerly under the power of the Portuguese, as appears by their retaining still a mixture of that

language with their own. The chief of these principalities are those of Ligor on one side, and Quedah on the other; but the people are so barbarous and perfidious, that the Europeans carry on scarce any trade on their coasts."

The first communications of the Portuguese with Siam were in 1511, when Dom Alfonso d'Albuquerque, being engaged in the siege of Malacca, sent to Siam, in a Chinese junk, a messenger, who was well received by the King, and brought back presents and friendly offers of service, which the capitulation of Malacca rendered of less importance at that moment. Albuquerque appears to have offered to transfer the government of the city of Malacca to the Siamese King, as a recompence for the assistance he asked from the monarch. The name of the Portuguese envoy was Duarte Fernandez, a lieutenant, who had been made prisoner by the Moors, and who spoke the Malayan language.

But, in the following year, Antonio d'Abrea was despatched by Albuquerque as his ambassador to Siam, taking return presents to the King.

In 1516, Manoel Falcâo was sent to Patana, where many foreign merchants resided, Arabians, Persians, and others, who had fled from Malacca on its capture; and Falcâo established a factory there, having been welcomed by the Siamese.

The Portuguese are said to have obtained the privilege of teaching their religion unmolested. They dwelt not only in the capital, but in the provinces of Tenasserim, Menqui, and Ligor. A

Portuguese church was built, and much business transacted. In 1517, Diogo Coelho was sent as ambassador to Siam, and was well received.

The numbers of Portuguese who made their way to Siam must have been considerable; and their influence extended, under the protection and patronage they received from the Siamese. They were more than once enrolled for the defence of the kingdom, especially in 1548, when it was invaded by the King of Pegu, who laid siege to the capital (Ayuthia). The Siamese were not only assisted by Portuguese located in the country, but by the crew of a ship of war then anchored in the Meinam; and it is reported that the most vulnerable parts of the city were those which were specially confided to the keeping of the Portuguese, who were under the command of Diogo Perreira. The city was successfully defended by the valour of the Portuguese, who are said to have refused large bribes offered by the Peguan invaders.

Many Portuguese were at this period, and even before, in the service of Siam. In the year 1540, Dom João III. sent Francisco de Castro to claim Domingo de Seixas from the Siamese, he having been reported to be held in captivity by them. But, so far from the report being confirmed, it was discovered that Seixas, who had been in Siam since the year 1517, was the commander of a large force in the interior, and in great favour with the authorities. He was, however, with sixteen of his followers, allowed to leave the country, after receiving liberal recompence for the services they had rendered.

Of this De Seixas,* João de Barros, the old chronicler, says that he was supposed to have been a captive, but he was discovered to be the commander of a large body of men employed to subdue the mountain tribes: and he reports that the Siamese army in his day (the beginning of the sixteenth century) consisted of twenty thousand cavalry, two hundred and fifty thousand infantry, and ten thousand war elephants; and that this army was raised without depopulating the country in any respect.†

In the Portuguese records, one De Mello is mentioned as having rendered signal services to the Siamese. He was put to death by a Pegu nobleman, called "Xenim of the Tuft;" and it is said that the nobleman, being himself convicted of treason and condemned to death, exclaimed, on the way to the place of execution, while passing the dwelling which De Mello had occupied, "I deserve this death, because I ordered Diogo de Mello to be killed, without reason, and on false information."‡

The Portuguese have continued to nominate a consul at Bangkok. As they have no trade, the

* Some of the reports which Seixas made of the religious belief of the Siamese bonzes of his time (1540) are curious. They taught that the world was to continue in its present state for eight thousand years, of which six thousand had passed; that it had its origin in a deluge, and would be destroyed by fire; that the next phase of the world would be the produce of two eggs, containing the masculine and the feminine principle, out of whose procreation a new world would be born, freed from the miseries of the present; that the whole ocean would be converted into fresh and fertilizing streams, and the earth produce spontaneous harvests, and a superior race of human beings would be freed from all evils and anxieties. —Barros, v. 167.

† João de Barros, v., 160.

‡ Diogo de Couto, *Decadas*, vii., p. 147.

appointment may be deemed rather the expression of a natural national pride, the result of ancient privileges and position, than having any present purpose of utility. The present consul had not been received by the Siamese authorities, something having been wanting in the form of his appointment, and the Siamese being somewhat rigid in the observance of forms.

II.—*Dutch Missions.*

Valentija, in his *Old and New Indies*, gives the following account of the position of the Dutch in Siam:—

"The Portuguese for a long time enjoyed exclusive privileges of settlement, trade, and religious propaganda; but in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch influence being rather in the ascendant, the efforts of the Portuguese to keep the Hollanders out of favour became gradually unavailing. In 1624, the King of Siam compelled the Portuguese to restore a Dutch merchant-vessel, captured in Siamese waters. In 1630, a decided breach of friendship occurred, partly repaired by a Portuguese ambassade in 1633, which the Siamese Court reciprocated by sending an ambassador to Manila in 1636. Since then, nothing worth notice seems to have occurred between the two nations.

"In 1604, the first attempt was successfully made on the part of the Dutch to open intercourse, followed by a Siamese ambassade to Bantam. From Java

the Siamese ambassador made a trip to Holland in 1608, when the Siamese expressed much surprise at finding that the Dutch actually possessed a country of their own, and were not a nation of pirates, as the Portuguese had always insinuated. In 1613, a Dutch factory was first established in India; but at the onset their trade was carried on with some loss, and would soon have been abandoned, but for the King's encouragements. In 1623 their trade was actually suppressed, but re-established in 1627, after concession of various privileges. In 1634 it had become very important, and a profitable outlet was found in Japan for some Siamese articles of export. A splendid factory and extensive fortified warehouses were then built by the Dutch. The imports consisted of woollens, cotton yarn, shirtings, Turkey red yarn, and prints, Bengal manufactures, gold-leaf, vermilion, calliatour wood, and spices. The principal exports were rice, pepper, shellac, incense, oil, cassia, dark sugar-candy, sapan-wood, elephants' teeth, rhinoceros-horns, gamboge, gutta-gambia, putchuc, birds' nests (imported from Tonquin and Cochin), precious stones, a kind of inferior gold, silver, tin, iron, steel, lead, saltpetre, indigo, timber, salt, arrack, cow and buffalo hides, deer-skins, and a very valuable species of skin much in demand with the Japanese. In 1663, the Dutch East India Company had to complain of some breach of treaty on the part of the Siamese, and, conscious of their predominant interest, caused their traffic to be suspended, and their agent to take his departure; which produced the desired effect, for

in the next year Siamese ambassadors came to Batavia to treat for a reconciliation, and comply with the Company's demands, upon which trade resumed its course.

"In 1672, the King requested the Governor of Batavia to induce Dutch artisans, engineers, and mariners to settle in Siam. The Company's agent in 1685 was the first foreigner admitted into the King's presence. In 1706, a difference arose; and on this occasion the Dutch themselves were compelled to apply for a reconciliation, which was obtained only with curtailment of privileges. Since then, down to 1724, nothing important occurred, but trade declined.*

"In 1740, the King of Siam made some overtures to the Dutch, for the purpose of renewing friendly commercial relations; but they appear to have led to no result."

Mandelsloe thus reports the causes which gave the Dutch interests in Siam an ascendancy over the Portuguese (Dr. Harris, vol. i., p. 782):—

"The Portugueze being sufficiently sensible what prodigious advantage they were able to reap from this kingdom for supporting their traffick to the Malaccas and Philippine Isles, the viceroys of Goa were always very careful to cultivate a good correspondence with the King of Siam, who in return granted them many privileges, till such time that the Dutch got footing there at the beginning of this age.

* The ruins of the Dutch factory (called Amsterdam) are still visible in the jungle in the neighbourhood of Paklat, on the right bank of the Meinam.

The Portugueze were so alarmed thereat, that they not only obstructed the trade of the Siamese to St. Thomas and Negapatan, but also attacked a Dutch vessel in the River Menam, which, with some other outrages, served only to incense the King of Siam against them, who ever encouraged the Dutch in their settlement and commerce, which is very advantageous to them in respect of the Isles of Java and Sumatra, of which they are now in possession."

Van Schouten (1636) gives the following narration of the position of the Dutch in Siam:—"Before Hollanders came to this country, the Portuguese were held in high estimation; the Kings of Siam showed great respect to the envoys of the Indian viceroys and the Malayan bishops, who were permitted to exercise their religion in the town of Iudia (Ayuthia), so much so that the King gave certain appointments to the priest who had charge of this church; but they began to lose credit as soon as the Dutch set foot in the country, and finally came to an open rupture. The Portuguese intercepted the traffic of these people with Santoine and Negapatan, and, in 1624, took in the Menam river a small Dutch frigate. The King of Siam waged war against them as far as the Manillas: their merchants did not, however, leave the country, but resided there without consideration and without credit, so that now only a few exiled Portuguese continue there. In 1631, the King of Siam, in reprisal, seized their ships, and took prisoner all who were on board them: two years afterwards, they escaped by means of a pretended embassy. In the

ports of Ligor and Tannassari, both Spanish and Portuguese vessels were seized; but the King caused the ships' crews to be set at liberty, and charged them with letters to the Governors of Manilla and Malacca, in which he offered them permission to trade and to settle in the country, to which, therefore, they will probably return.

"As to the Hollanders, they have been established in the country for thirty years. Their commerce is considered by the East India Company of sufficient importance to induce them to appoint a governor, after having built a factory in the town of Iudia, and trafficked largely in deer-skins, sapan-wood, &c. They yearly send these productions to Japan, with increasing reputation, though the profit is little except that provisions are obtained for Batavia, and it is convenient to put this check upon Spanish commerce. In 1633, I caused a new warehouse to be built; and during the four years in which I directed the affairs of the Company, I so managed matters as to insure larger profits for the future.

"In 1634, I built, under the direction of General Bremer and the Indian Board of Directors, a mansion of stone, with large suites of apartments, good water-tanks, and warehouses attached, being, indeed, quite the best house belonging to the Company. Such is the information I have obtained with regard to the kingdom of Siam during a residence of eight years in Iuthia, the capital of the country." (p. 34–35.)

Of the state of the commercial relations between the Dutch and Siamese (1636), Van Schouten says—"The present King is fond of strangers, as his pre-

decessors always were; but he prefers the Dutch to the Portuguese. The latter having, in 1624, taken a small Dutch boat in the Siamese river, the King arrested the galley of Don Fernando de Silva, stripped his people, and caused our vessel and merchandize to be restored to us. The Spaniards and Manilla men declared war against him in consequence, and arrested several of his subjects who were trading with China. The Dutch, to acquit themselves of their obligations, lent him six of their vessels in 1634, to assist him in bringing to reason his subjects of Patan." (p. 31.)

In my visit to Siam, I found among the people no traces of the Dutch ever having visited the country, none claiming descent from them, none bearing a Dutch name; while there were many Siamese who gloried in the high-sounding patronymics which they had received from their Portuguese forefathers.

I doubt not that a large trade will grow up between Siam and the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago. At the present moment it is not inconsiderable. Large quantities of dried fish and other Siamese produce are conveyed by junks to Batavia and the ports of Java, and many European commodities are received in return. As regards the principal tropical productions, such as sugar, coffee, rice, &c., Siam will be the competitor with the Dutch possessions in the markets of the world, and with many advantages, should the internal policy of Siam be wise and liberal.

III.—*French Missions.*

In Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, there is a curious reference to the relations between France and Siam. Considering how many volumes were published giving an account of the embassies sent by Louis XIV. to the Siamese King, it is quite strange that Dr. Johnson should have overlooked them; but the circumstance is very illustrative of the fact that the literature of France, with exceedingly few exceptions, was little known to the learned men in England down to the end of the last century. Mr. Croker, who corrects the imperfect knowledge of the lexicographer and the biographer, seems to suppose that only one Mission was despatched to Siam from the Court of Versailles. I give the whole passage.

Conversation between Dr. Robertson and Dr. Johnson.

Dr. R. Doctor Johnson, allow me to say that in one respect I have the advantage of you. When you were in Scotland, you would not come to hear any of our preachers; whereas, when I am here, I attend your public worship without scruple, and, indeed, with great satisfaction.

Dr. J. Why, sir, that is not so extraordinary. The King of Siam sent ambassadors to Louis XIV.; but Louis XIV. sent none to the King of Siam.

Boswell remarks—"Here my friend, for once, discovered a want of knowledge or forgetfulness; for Louis XIV. did send an embassy to the King of

Siam, and the Abbé Choisi,* who was employed in it, published an account of it in two volumes."

There are few episodes in French history more remarkable than the events connected with the intercourse between the Court of Versailles and that of Siam in the reign of Louis XIV.

The purpose of the *Grand Monarque* to bring about the conversion of the Siamese King was ostentatiously proclaimed in Europe, and had been the subject of much correspondence and extensive arrangements between the Pope, the Jesuits, and the French Court. "Everybody knew," says Father Tachard,† "that the King had publicly told the ambassador that he hoped, by his wise conduct, he would accomplish this *grande affaire.*" On their arrival in Siam, the Mission was filled with a "*joie incroyable;*" and from the moment of their advent, urgent prayers were addressed to God for their success, and a weekly mass was celebrated for its advancement. Six Jesuits (mathematicians), whose destination was China, accompanied the Mission.

The volume published in Paris in 1686, and which gives the account of the *Voyage des Pères Jésuites,*

* The Abbé de Choisi was sent by Louis XIV. on an embassy to the King of Siam in 1683, with a view, it has been said, to convert the King of the country to Christianity. (Malone.) The Chevalier de Chaumont was the ambassador; the Abbé de Choisi was, as Boswell correctly states, only "employed in it," and it was in return of this Mission that the King of Siam sent his embassy to Louis. (Croker.)—*Life of Johnson,* by Boswell, with Croker's Notes, vii. 192. Murray, 1835.

The whole of the passage exhibits curious examples of half-instructed criticisms.

† *Voyage des Pères Jésuites,* p. 186.

was written by Father Tachard at the express command of the King.

The Mission arrived off the Meinam on the 22nd September, 1685, and anchored the following day.

Messengers were sent to announce their arrival, which was expected by Phaulcon, the minister for foreign affairs, and whose co-operation was mainly looked to in order to accomplish the great end of the Mission; and as regarded personal attentions to the ambassadors, nothing appears to have been wanting, the Siamese King having ordered that M. de Chaumont should be received as never minister had been received before. Among early communications, the French minister was told, somewhat to his surprise, that he had been in Siam a thousand years before, in an earlier stage of his metempsychosical existence, to promote the objects of his present Mission—an alliance between France and Siam.* The Catholic missionaries established in Siam, headed by the Bishop of Metellopolis, who was the vicar apostolic of a large portion of India, seem to have contributed much to the *éclat* of their reception, which was in all respects flattering, and even ostentatious.

The position of Phaulcon must have been somewhat embarrassing. It is obvious throughout that he had determined to serve two masters, and his management ended by disappointing the one and sacrificing the other; he himself being the victim in the general overthrow of the schemes, political and

* Tachard, p. 197.

religious, of Paris and of Rome. The scenes of their grand receptions are in ruins now. The ancient capital (Ayuthia), the royal residence of Louvô, presents living pictures and stagnant mementos of the wreck of a policy which, at one moment, seemed not unlikely to make Siam the seat and centre of a vast dominion to be established by France in the East. Perhaps, but for the impassioned zeal of the missionaries, the scheme might have succeeded; but its objects were too soon imprudently developed, and the impatience of fanaticism snatched at the unripe fruit.

At Nophaburi, a city founded about A.D. 600, the palace of Phaulcon still exists; and there are the remains of a Christian church founded by him, in which, some of the traditions say, he was put to death. I brought with me from Bangkok the capital of one of the columns of the church, richly carved and gilded, as a relic of the first Christian temple erected in Siam, and as associated with the history of that singular, long successful, and, finally sacrificed adventurer. The words *Jesus Hominum Salvator* are still inscribed over the canopy of the altar, upon which the image of Buddha now sits to be worshipped.

There was such a remarkable resemblance between the manner of the reception, one hundred and seventy years ago, of Louis XIV.'s ambassador, the Chevalier de Chaumont, and that with which I was honoured at the Siamese Court, that I have thought it would not be without interest to show how little the usages of that Court have changed in the progress

of many generations. I had occasion frequently and successfully to quote the precedent established in the case of the French King's Mission, in order to justify the claims I put forward as the representative of the Queen of England, a greater Sovereign, under every aspect, than was the *Grand Monarque* in the height of his glory. This narrative is translated from an *Extrait de la Relation de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont* (Paris, 1687), and quoted by Pallegoix, ii. 340—368.

Narrative of M. le Chevalier de Chaumont, at the Court of the King of Siam.

"I set out from Brest on the 3rd of March, 1685, in one of the King's ships, *L'Oiseau*, accompanied by a frigate, *La Maline*,* and on the 24th September we anchored at the bar of the Siam river. I sent notice of our arrival to the Bishop of Metellopolis, vicar apostolic of Siam, who on the 29th of the same month came on board, with the Abbé de Lionne. They gave me the information I required, and told me that the King of Siam having heard of my arrival from M. Constance, one of his ministers, had shown much satisfaction at the news, and had ordered him to give notice to the Bishop, and to despatch two mandarins of the first rank to express his pleasure at my arrival. Two days later they came on board: I received them in my own cabin, seated in an arm-chair, the Bishop being placed beside me, and they

* The *Maline* was a thirty-gun frigate.

sat upon the carpet with which my cabin-floor was covered.

"They told me that the King, their master, had desired them to express the pleasure given him by my arrival, and by the news that the King of France, having subdued all his enemies, was absolute master in his own kingdom, and enjoyed the peace which he had granted to the whole of Europe.

"After having expressed my thanks for the flattering attentions of the King, their master, and responded with respect to his Majesty, I told them that I was highly satisfied with the Governor of Bangkok, with the manner in which he had received my messengers, as well as with the presents he had sent me. They answered that he had but fulfilled his duty, since the envoys of the King, their master, had been so well received in France, and that this treatment was due no less to my own merits, as I had formerly brought about the union between the kingdom of Siam and that of France. After having treated them with the honours and courtesies which are usual on such occasions in their country, I offered them tea and sweetmeats. They remained on ship-board nearly an hour, and at their departure I saluted them with a discharge of nine guns.

"On the 1st of October, M. Constance, Minister of the King of Siam, who, although a foreigner, had by his own merit attained the highest place in the favour of the King, sent me a complimentary message by his secretary, who brought me from him so large

a supply of fruit, oxen, pigs, poultry, ducks, and other provisions, that the whole ship's company lived upon them for four days. These refreshments are peculiarly acceptable, after spending some months at sea.

"On the 8th of October, the Bishop of Metellopolis, who had returned to Juthia, again came on board with two mandarins, to make inquiries on the part of the King as to my health, and to tell me that he was impatient to see me, begging me to land. I received these mandarins as I had done the former, and when they left, saluted them with a discharge of nine guns. The same day, at two o'clock, I got into the ship's boat; those who were with me going in boats sent by the King. Having entered the river in the evening, I found five many-oared boats,—a magnificent one for myself, and four good ones for the gentlemen who accompanied me, with several to carry baggage and all my attendants.

"The same evening, the commissioner I had sent to Juthia to purchase the necessary provisions for the crews of the ship and of the frigate came to inform me that M. Constance had delivered over to him, on the part of the King, eleven barges laden with oxen, pigs, calves, ducks, and arrack, for the use of the two ships' companies, and that he had desired him to ask for everything that was necessary for us, the King wishing to defray the expenses of his Majesty's ships as long as I should remain in the kingdom.

"On the 9th, two mandarins came to my boat, on the part of the King, to receive my orders. I

started at about seven o'clock A.M. After having traversed nearly five leagues, I reached a house which had been constructed purposely to receive me, where two mandarins, the Governors of Bangkok and of Piply, with several others, came to congratulate me on my arrival, wishing me a long life. The house was made of bamboos, and covered with neat matting. All the furniture was new, and several apartments were hung with handsome painted cloth; mine was carpeted, and furnished with a daïs of rich cloth of gold, a gilded arm-chair, velvet cushions, a table with a cover wrought in gold, and magnificent beds. Provisions and fruits were served up in abundance.

"I set out after dinner, and all the mandarins followed me. I went to Bangkok, which is the first place of the King of Siam upon this river, and about eight leagues from the sea. I fell in with an English ship, which saluted me with twenty-one discharges of cannon. The fortresses on each side of the river likewise saluted me, one with twenty-nine, the other with thirty-one guns. These fortresses are built regularly, and furnished with large cast-iron artillery. I was lodged in the left-hand fortress, in a tolerably-built house, extremely well furnished, where I was treated according to the fashion of the country.

"On the next day (10th), I set out towards eight o'clock A.M., accompanied by all the mandarins and all the governors who had come to do me honour. At my departure I was saluted in the same manner

as on the preceding day, and at noon I arrived at a house built for my reception, as handsomely furnished as the first. There were in the neighbourhood two fortresses, which saluted me with the whole of their artillery, and two mandarins came to receive me. At dinner I was well served, and I started again at three o'clock. The fortresses saluted me as before, and the Governor of Bangkok took leave of me to return to his government. Pursuing my journey, I fell in with two ships, one English and the other Dutch, which saluted me with the whole of their artillery; and I arrived, at about seven in the evening, at a house built and furnished in the same manner as the former ones. I was received by other mandarins with great courtesy.

"On the morning of the 11th, I again set out, and dined in another house, arriving in the evening at a house similar to the others, and extremely well furnished, where two mandarins received me.

"On the 12th, I slept at two leagues' distance from Juthia, where I was again received by two mandarins, and where the heads of the English and Dutch companies came to salute me: the French had previously come on board to see me, and had not since left me. I remained here till the day on which I made my entry into the capital.

"All the mandarins who came to receive me on the river accompanied me. The first were gentlemen-in-waiting, and those who afterwards came were of still higher rank than those who had preceded them. The princes came last. Each of these mandarins* has a boat of his own, in the midst of which he is

seated on a kind of throne, one only coming in a boat; beside them are their arms, as sabres, lances, swords, arrows, breastplates, and even pitchforks. There were fifty or sixty of these boats in attendance, several of which were eighty feet long, and had as many as a hundred rowers. They do not row in our fashion, but seated two upon each bench, one on each side, looking in the direction in which they row, using an oar, of about four feet long, with great bodily exertion.

"On the 13th, I notified to the King, through the mandarins who were with me, that I had been informed of the manner in which it was customary to receive ambassadors in his kingdom; and as their mode was very different from that of France, I entreated him to send me some one with whom I could discuss the subject of my reception.

"On the 14th, he sent M. Constance, with whom I had a long conversation, the Bishop of Metellopolis acting as interpreter. We had a lengthened discussion, and I would not give up a single point of the ceremonial with which ambassadors are received in France. He agreed to my demands.

"On the 17th, M. Constance came, bringing with him four handsome boats to carry the presents from his Majesty to the King of Siam. Among these were several pieces of gold brocade, four very handsome carpets, large silver candelabra, very large mirrors framed in gold and silver, a basin of crystal set in gold, several chimney-clocks, and several small writing-desks, artistically wrought, some finely-wrought guns and pistols, and many other specimens

of French manufacture. On the same day, the King gave orders to all the Indian nations inhabiting Siam to congratulate me on my arrival, and show me all the honours due to the ambassador of the greatest king in the world. They came about six o'clock P.M., all dressed in their national costumes. There were forty different nations, all of independent kingdoms. Their dress was similar to that of the Siamese, with the exception of a different head-dress; some wearing turbans, others Armenian caps, or calottes, and others, again, bareheaded like the Siamese. Persons of quality wear a white muslin head-dress, in shape like a dragoon's cap, which is upright, and fastened by a cord passed under the chin. All are barefoot, with the exception of a few who wear slippers such as are used by the Turks.

"The King announced to me, the same day, through M. Constance, that he would receive me on the morrow.

"On the 18th, I set out at seven o'clock A.M. Forty mandarins, two of whom were Phaja, came from the Court of the King, and announced to me that the boats were waiting to carry his Majesty's letter, and to conduct me to the palace. The letter was in my own apartment, in a golden vase, covered with a rich brocaded cloth. The mandarins having entered, prostrated themselves, with their hands joined upon their foreheads, and their faces on the ground. In this attitude they thrice saluted the King's letter, I being seated in an arm-chair near the letter. This honour has never been rendered except to the letter of his Majesty. The ceremony con-

cluded, I took the letter with the vase of gold, and having carried it seven or eight paces, I delivered it to the Abbé de Choisy, who had accompanied me from France. He walked on my left hand, a little behind, and carried it to the bank of the river, where I found a highly-decorated and gilded barge, in which were seated two mandarins of the first rank. I took the letter from the Abbé de Choisy, and having carried it into the boat, placed it in the hands of one of the mandarins, who put it under a pointed canopy which was very lofty and richly gilded. I afterwards entered another very magnificent barge, which followed close to that which carried the letter of his Majesty. Two others, as handsome as my own, in which were mandarins, kept on each side of that which conveyed the letter. Mine, as I have said, followed, the Abbé de Choisy being in one immediately behind, and the noblemen who accompanied me and my suite being in other boats: those of the high mandarins were very handsome, and took the lead. There were about twelve gilded barges, and nearly two hundred others, which were rowed in two columns. The letter of the King, with the two barges that guarded it, and my own, were in the centre. All the natives inhabiting Siam joined the procession, and the broad river was entirely covered with boats. We journeyed in this manner to the town, where the cannon saluted me, which had never been done for any former ambassador; all the ships in port did the same; and on landing, I found a gilded carriage, which had never been used but by the King himself.

"I took his Majesty's letter, and placed it in the carriage, which was drawn by horses and pushed by men. I then entered a gilded chair, which was carried on the shoulders of ten men. M. de Choisy was in a less handsome one; the noblemen and mandarins who accompanied me were on horseback, while the foreigners inhabiting Siam walked behind. The procession continued till we reached the governor's house, where I found soldiers ranged in file on each side of the road: they wore hats of gilt metal, and shirts, and a coloured cotton scarf, which served instead of drawers; they had neither shoes nor stockings. Some of them were armed with muskets, others with lances; and some carried bows and arrows, and others pikes.

"There were several kinds of musical instruments, trumpets, drums, cymbals, bagpipes, small bells, and horns, sounding like those used by shepherds in France. The music was very noisy. We walked along a wide road, each side of which was crowded with spectators, and at length arrived at a large square before the King's palace, each side having a row of elephants in warlike trappings. On entering into the first court of the palace, I saw about two thousand soldiers seated on the ground, the butt-end of their muskets downwards, in a row six deep, and clothed as I have said above: to the left were elephants in war-harness. We afterwards saw one hundred horsemen, barefoot, and in Moorish dresses, each with a lance in his hand. At this spot the foreigners and all who had followed me took their departure, with the exception of the noblemen who

accompanied me. I crossed two other courts, filled in the same manner, and entering a fourth, I found a large number of mandarins, prostrated, with their faces to the ground. Here were six horses, with golden rings upon their fore feet, each being held by two mandarins. They were thoroughly harnessed; all their trappings so richly adorned with gold and silver, pearls, rubies, and diamonds, that the leather was entirely covered, their stirrups and saddles being of gold and silver. In the same court were elephants harnessed like carriage-horses, the trappings being of crimson velvet, with gilt buckles. The noblemen entered the hall of audience, and took their places, before the King was on his throne; and when I entered, accompanied by M. Constance, the Barcalon (prime minister), and the Abbé de Choisy, who bore his Majesty's letter, I was surprised to see the King on a very elevated tribune; for M. Constance had agreed with me that the King should not be in a tribune above the height of a man, and that the letter should be delivered from hand to hand. I therefore said to M. de Choisy, 'The promises given me have been forgotten, but I shall assuredly deliver the King's letter with my own hand.' The vase of gold in which it had been deposited had a large golden handle, more than three feet long, and they had supposed that I should hold the extreme end of the handle, to raise the vase to the height of his Majesty's throne; but I instantly determined to present* his Majesty's letter to the King, holding

* La Loubère's account of the presentation of Louis XIV.'s letter to the King of Siam is to the following effect:—"The throne or window

the cup itself in my hand.* Having reached the doorway, I saluted the King, repeating the salutation half-way up the room; and when close to the spot where I was to be seated, after uttering a few words

at which the King sat was elevated nine feet above the floor of the audience-hall. M. de Chaumont left the place assigned him in the hall, and instead of delivering the letter to the prime minister, to be by him delivered to the King, he rushed forward and mounted three steps, raising up a golden cup, in which was the letter; but not being able to elevate it sufficiently, the King laughingly rose, stooped, and stretching his hand down to the vase, took the letter from the ambassador."

This feat of M. de Chaumont is recorded as a grand triumph of diplomacy in all the French accounts of the Mission. It seems at this distance to have been little better than uncivil *gaucherie,* not likely to recommend the ambassador to the good opinion of the Siamese. La Loubère says that when he delivered his Royal letter to the King of Siam, the steps were high enough to enable the King to take it without the indignity of stooping.

* The letter of Louis XIV. to the King of Siam was as follows:—

(Translation.)

Most high, most excellent, and most magnanimous Prince, our well-beloved and good friend, may God increase your greatness by a fortunate end. I have learned with concern the loss of the ambassadors whom you sent to us in 1681; and we have been informed by the missionary fathers who returned from Siam, and by the letters received by our ministers from the person who appears to have charge of your affairs, the cordiality with which you desire our Royal friendship. To respond to this, we have chosen the Chevalier de Chaumont as our ambassador to your Majesty, to make known to you our desire of establishing a perpetual friendship between us. We shall be most happy to find occasions for testifying our gratitude for the protection you have afforded to the bishops and apostolic missionaries who labour to instruct your subjects in the Christian faith; and our particular esteem for yourself gives us a great desire that you should yourself deign to hear them, and learn from them the true maxims and sacred mysteries of so holy a law, which gives a knowledge of the true God, who having long permitted you to reign gloriously, can alone crown you with eternal bliss. We have charged our ambassador with some presents of the most curious things of our kingdom, which he will present to you as a mark of our esteem, and he will explain to you what we most desire for the advantage of our subjects in commercial matters. Above all, we pray that the Lord will crown you with all happiness.

Given at our Palace of Versailles, the 21st day of January, 1685.

Your attached and sincere friend,

Colbert. Louis.

(Tachard, *Voyage de Siam,* p. 240—2.)

of my address, I put on my hat, took my seat, and continued my discourse, which was in these terms:—

"'Sire! The King, my master, so famed throughout the world for his great victories, and for the peace he has so frequently established with his enemies and at the head of his armies, has commanded me to come to your Majesty, to assure you of the very high estimation in which you are held by him. He, Sire, fully appreciates your Royal qualities, the wisdom of your government, the magnificence of your Court, the extent of your kingdom, and that which you have graciously desired to make known to him by your ambassadors—your friendship for his person, confirmed by the continual protection you have given to his subjects, and especially to the bishops, who are the ministers of the true God.

"'He has already experienced the effects of the esteem which you have for him, and desires to respond as much as lies in his power. With this intention, he is ready to treat with your Majesty to send out to you some of his subjects, in order to facilitate and increase commerce, to give you every mark of a sincere friendship, and to commence between the two crowns a union as renowned in future ages as the distance between your kingdom and his own is vast.

"'But nothing will tend so much to confirm him in this resolution, and unite you together so closely, as to live in sentiments of the same faith. And it is especially on this point, Sire, that the King, my master, that wise and enlightened monarch, who has ever given the best counsels to the kings his allies, has desired me to address you from himself.

"'He beseeches you, as the most sincere of your friends, and by the interest he already takes in your true glory, to consider that the supreme majesty with which you are invested, can be held only from the true God who governs heaven and earth. It is a thing, Sire, far more reasonable than the worship of the divinities adored in the East, and whose utter powerlessness the knowledge and penetration of your Majesty cannot have failed to discover.

"'But of this you will be more fully aware, should you be willing to hear the bishops and missionaries, who are here at present. The most welcome news, Sire, which I can give the King, my master, will be that your Majesty, being persuaded of the truth, is becoming instructed in the Christian religion. This it is which will increase his esteem and admiration for your Majesty; this it is which will induce his subjects to come with more confidence and eagerness into your kingdom, and which will crown your Majesty with honour, since by those means you will secure your eternal welfare in heaven after ruling prosperously upon earth.'

"This speech was interpreted by M. Constance; and I afterwards informed his Majesty that the King, my master, had sent the Abbé de Choisy to accompany me, with the twelve gentlemen whom I presented to him. I then took the letter from the hands of the Abbé de Choisy, intending to present it in the manner I had already resolved upon. M. Constance, who accompanied me, crawling upon his hands and knees, called to me, and made me a sign to raise my arm so as to reach the King. I pretended, however,

not to hear what was said, and stood still. At length the King, smiling, rose, and stooping to take the letter in the vase, leaned forward so as to show the whole of his person. As soon as he had taken it, I made a low bow and returned to my seat. The King of Siam afterwards asked after his Majesty and the whole of the Royal Family, adding that he would try in every way to give satisfaction to the King as to the matter proposed. The Bishop of Metellopolis was present, and several times acted as interpreter between the King and myself. This monarch had a crown, enriched with diamonds, fastened to a cap such as is worn by our dragoons. His vest was of a rich material, with flowers wrought in gold, diamonds being set round the neck and wrists, which had the effect of a necklace and bracelets. This prince wore also many diamonds on his fingers. The King appears to be about fifty-five years of age; he is well made, but somewhat swarthy, as are all the people of his country; his air is lively, his disposition regal; he is brave, a great politician, governing himself, magnificent, liberal, loving the fine arts: in a word, he is a prince who, by the power of his genius, has thrown off many foolish customs anciently kept up in his kingdom, and has borrowed from foreign nations, and especially from those of Europe, all that he considers most worthy to contribute to his own glory and to the happiness of his people.

"During the audience, there were eighty mandarins in the saloon, all prostrate, with their faces on the ground. They were without shoes and stockings, but otherwise magnificently clad. Each

had a box to hold arrack, betel, and tobacco: it is by these boxes that their rank and quality are distinguished. After the King had conversed with me for an hour, he closed his window, and I retired. The place of audience was raised twelve or fifteen steps: within, it was painted with golden flowers from top to bottom, and the floor covered with rich carpets. At the bottom of the hall were two staircases, one on each side, which led to the King's apartment; and between the staircases was a sash window, before which were three large parasols, one over the other and reaching from the floor of the saloon to the ceiling, made of cloth of gold, the stick being covered with gold-leaf. One was in the centre of the window, and the other two at the sides: through this window was seen the King's throne, and from it he gave audience to me. M. Constance afterwards took me over the rest of the palace; and I saw the white elephant, whose food and drink are served up in golden vases. I saw several other fine ones, and afterwards returned to my house, with the same pomp with which I had left it. This house was well arranged, and my suite were comfortably provided for.

"On the 22nd, the King sent me several pieces of brocade, Japanese dressing-gowns, and a set of gold buttons; and to the gentlemen who accompanied me, pieces of stuff, embroidered in gold and silver: for it is the custom of the country to make such presents immediately on arrival, so that one may be able to dress according to their fashion. For myself, I did not

have dresses made from the stuffs; but the gentlemen of my suite used them as intended.

"On the 8th of November, the King set out for Louvô, which is a country-house where he resides during eight or nine months of the year, and which is twenty leagues from Juthia.

"On the 15th, I set out to go there, and slept on the way at a house which had been built for me: it was like those in which I had stayed from the time of my landing until I reached the capital, and was near the house in which the King sleeps when he stays at Louvô. I remained there during the 16th and 17th, and arrived at Louvô about eight o'clock P.M. This house is well built, according to the fashion of the country. On entering, you pass a garden, in which are several fountains; five or six steps bring you to a lofty saloon, and I found there a chapel and sleeping-rooms provided for all who accompanied me.

"On Monday, the 19th, the King admitted me to a private audience. In the afternoon I rode an elephant, but found its paces so uncomfortable, that I had rather ridden ten leagues on horseback than one upon the back of one of these animals.

"On the 23rd, M. Constance told me that the King wished to give me the amusement of seeing an elephant-fight, to which he begged me to bring the captains of my ships. They were MM. de Vaudricourt and de Joyeuse; and we went mounted on elephants.

"The King caused these gentlemen to approach,

and told them that he was happy that they were the first captains of the King of France who had entered his kingdom, and that he trusted their return would be as fortunate as their arrival. He presented to each of them a sabre, of which the handle and guard were of gold, the sheath being almost entirely covered with gold; a large richly-wrought chain of gold, to wear as a shoulder-belt; and a vest of cloth of gold, with large gold buttons. As M. de Vaudricourt was the first captain, his present was handsomer and more costly. The King recommended them to guard against enemies on the way; to which they replied that his Majesty had given them arms to defend themselves, and that they would acquit themselves well, as was their duty. These captains addressed the King without dismounting from their elephants; and I perceived that, under the pretence of an elephant-fight, he wished to make these presents to the captains before a number of Europeans who were present, and thus to mark publicly the peculiar distinction which he wished to show to the French nation.

"On Sunday, the 2nd December, M. Constance sent presents to myself, and also to the Abbé de Choisy and the gentlemen who accompanied me. These presents consisted of fine porcelain, bracelets, Chinese vases, dressing-gowns, Japan work made of silver, bezoar stones, rhinoceros horns, and other curiosities of the country.

"On the 11th, I went to see a wild elephant-hunt. The King, who was present, sent two mandarins to bring me to him; and, after having spoken on various

matters, he begged to be allowed to keep M. de Lamarre, an engineer, to assist in making fortifications to his towns. I assured him that I had not the smallest doubt that the King, my master, would entirely approve of my leaving him, since the interests of his Majesty were dear to him, and that so skilful a man could not fail to give satisfaction. I therefore directed M. de Lamarre to remain in Siam, for the King's service; upon which his Majesty desired to speak to him, and presented him with a robe of gold brocade.

"Intending to set out the next day to re-embark, I presented the gentlemen who were with me, to take leave of his Majesty. They saluted him, and the King wished them a prosperous journey. The Bishop of Metellopolis desired to present to him the Abbé de Lionne and the Abbé Levachet, missionaries who were about to return with me to France, to take leave of him; but he answered that they were of his own house, and that, as he looked upon them as his children, they should bid him farewell in his own palace. The King then retired, and I accompanied him to the edge of the forest.

"On Wednesday (12th), the King honoured me with a farewell audience. He expressed entire satisfaction with myself, as well as with the whole of my negotiation, and then presented me with a large vase of gold, which they call *bossette*—one of the highest marks of honour, equivalent to being made a duke by the King of France. The King said that he had not made it a public ceremony, because some part of it might not have been agreeable to me, on account of

the many genuflexions required from those, even of the highest rank, who receive this mark of honour. Amongst all the foreigners at his Court, the nephew of the King of Camboja alone had received a similar distinction, which gives the rank of *phaja*, equivalent, as I before remarked, to that of a duke in France. This monarch had the goodness to say so many complimentary things to myself, that I cannot venture to repeat them; and through the whole course of my journey he showed me every kind of honour, such as would indeed appear incredible, but that he considered me a representative of his Majesty. I received also every possible courtesy from his ministers, and from the whole Court. The Abbés de Lionne and Levachet also took leave of the King, who, after offering his good wishes for their journey, presented each with a crucifix of gold and tambac, with the foot in silver. On leaving the hall of audience, M. Constance led me into a saloon, surrounded by fountains, which was in the centre of the palace. There I found a handsome repast served up. The King of Siam had the goodness to send me two or three dishes from his own table, one of rice dressed in their peculiar manner, the other two of dried salt fish which came from Japan.

"About five o'clock, I left, in a gilded chair borne by ten persons, the nobles who accompanied me being on horseback. We entered our boats, and were accompanied by a number of mandarins. The streets were lined with soldiers, elephants, and Moorish horsemen. All the mandarins who had accompanied me to my boat entered their own, and came with me; there were about one hundred boats,

and on the next day (the 13th) I arrived at Juthia, about three o'clock in the morning. The letter of the King of Siam and the ambassadors he sent to the King of France were with me, in a handsome barge, accompanied by several others.

"The King made me a present of fine porcelain, to the value of six or seven hundred pistoles; two pairs of Chinese screens, and four table-covers, embroidered in gold and silver, from China; a crucifix, of which the figure was gold, the cross of tambac (which is a metal more valued than gold itself in these countries), and the foot silver; with many other Indian curiosities: and as it is the custom of the country to give to those who bring presents, I distributed among the King's boatmen eight or nine hundred pistoles. As to M. Constance, I made him a present of a piece of furniture I had brought from France, worth more than a thousand crowns, and a handsome chair for which I had given two hundred crowns in France; and I gave his wife a mirror set in gold and precious stones, worth about sixty pistoles.

"I forgot to mention that the King of Siam had presented the Abbé de Choisy with gifts to the value of seven or eight hundred pistoles. These presents consisted of Chinese vases, articles of silver wrought in Japan, several pieces of fine porcelain, and other Indian curiosities.

"On the 14th, about five o'clock in the evening, I left Juthia, accompanied by M. Constance and several mandarins, with a large number of boats, and reached Bangkok early the next morning. The fortresses which we passed on the way, and that of Bangkok,

saluted me with the whole of their artillery. I remained a day in this town, as, being a military man, the King had requested me to examine the fortifications, to let him know what further ones were required, and also to choose a spot for the building of a church: I made a plan of it, which I gave to M. Constance.

"On the morning of the 16th, I left, accompanied by the mandarins. The fortresses again saluted me; and towards four o'clock I arrived at the Bar of Siam, in the long-boats of his Majesty's ships.

"On the 17th, the frigate of the King of Siam, in which were his ambassadors and his letter for the King of France, came to anchor close to my ship. I sent my boat, which first brought two of the ambassadors; and on sending it the second time, it returned with the third, and the letter of the King of Siam, which was under a daïs, or pyramid, richly gilt and of great height. This letter is written on a leaf of gold, rolled up, and placed in a box of the same metal. The letter was saluted by several guns, and was kept on the deck of my ship, with parasols over it, till the day of my departure. Whenever the mandarins passed the letter, they saluted it, their custom being to show great respect to the letters of their King.

"The next day, the ship which had brought them left, returning up the river; and, at the same time, another vessel from the King of Siam made its appearance, and came to anchor near us. It brought M. Constance, who came on board my ship the next day (the 19th), when he dined with me, after dinner

returning in my boat. I saluted him with twenty-one guns, and we separated with regret, having already formed a strong friendship with one another.

"I was astonished at having no news of M. Levachet the missionary, of the chief of the French company of soldiers, or of my secretary. Having ascertained that they left Juthia on the 16th, with seven of the nobles who were to accompany the ambassadors of the King of Siam and several servants, I supposed them lost, and determined to set sail, the wind being favourable.

"The next day, the 20th, some of the last-mentioned came on board, and told me they had been carried away forty leagues by the stream—that they had left their companions stranded on a mud-bank more than twenty-five leagues from the place where we were, and there was no likelihood of their being able to rejoin us quickly: I therefore resolved to start the very next day.

"On the 22nd of December, 1685, I set sail to return to France."

I have thought it desirable not to interrupt the course of M. de Chaumont's narrative; but it appears his Excellency was not quite satisfied with the final success of the religious movement, and the minister Phaulcon, whose double-dealing is obvious enough throughout, was at last called upon more urgently to press the "King's conversion." The minister resisted strongly, and gave many reasons to dissuade the ambassador from pressing the King in this matter; but the ambassador persisted "with much wisdom,"

and desired him to present a memorial in writing to the King, and to obtain a written reply.

The Jesuits' account of what afterwards took place is that which was, no doubt, furnished by Phaulcon himself; but it exhibits a remarkable instance of dexterous management and sagacity to get over a temporary difficulty, and it served to quiet (if not wholly to satisfy) the ambassador, who certainly little dreamed that Phaulcon's policy, adroit as it seemed, would in a few years bring ruin upon himself, and upon the dynasty he professed to serve.

M. Constance, having received the memorial from the hands of the ambassador, went to the palace that very evening, and throwing himself at the feet of the King, addressed him "with all the Asiatic eloquence so much esteemed in ancient Greece." The following is a correct translation of his words, as given by Father Tachard:—

"'Sire! The ambassador of France has placed in my hands a memorial which contains certain propositions of which he is to render an account to the King, his master; but, before sending it to your Majesty, permit me to represent to you the motive which has engaged the Most Christian King to send this embassy. That wise prince, your sincere friend, Sire, well knowing the greatness of soul and generosity of the royal heart of your Majesty, through the ambassadors and the magnificent presents which you had destined for him, without other interest than that of securing the royal friendship of a prince so glorious and renowned throughout the universe; seeing also that your Majesty's ministers had sent to

the ministers of his kingdom two mandarins, with considerable presents, to congratulate them on the birth of a grandson to their great King, worthy of a perpetual posterity, which may ever represent his admirable virtues, and secure the happiness of his people;—this great monarch, Sire, surprised at so disinterested a proceeding, resolved to respond to those obliging compliments, and to do so he conceived a method worthy of him and suitable to your Majesty. Should he send you wealth? It is in your kingdom, Sire, that strangers come to seek it. As to forces, it is well known that your Majesty is feared by all your neighbours, and well able to chastise them, should they violate the peace which they have won by their entreaties. Should he think of ceding lands and provinces to the sovereign of so many kings, and the ruler of kingdoms which make up nearly a fourth of Asia itself? Neither did he send his subjects hither solely for the purposes of commerce, which is an interest common alike to his own people and to the subjects of your Majesty. He considered, however, that it was in his power to offer to your Majesty something of infinitely more importance, and well befitting the dignity of two such great sovereigns. Remembering what had been the cause of his own glory, giving him power to take so many towns, subjugate so many provinces, and gain so many victories, which had made his people happy, and attracted to him, from the extremities of the globe, so many royal ambassadors and princes desiring his friendship,—which had caused your Majesty to seek the favour of such an incomparable

prince, by sending so magnificent an embassy;—having, I repeat, attentively considered all these things, this wise and enlightened King saw that the God whom he worships was their author, His Divine providence having thus ordered them, and that he owed them all to the intercession of the Holy Mother of the Saviour, under whose protection he has consecrated his person and his kingdom to the true God. This conviction, and his great desire to secure to your Majesty these great privileges, made him resolve to put before you, Sire, the means which obtained for him so much glory and happiness, and which are indeed the knowledge and worship of the true God, as taught by the Christian religion, and by that alone. He therefore sends his ambassador, trusting that your Majesty will, together with your whole kingdom, accept and follow the true faith.

"'This prince, Sire, is still more to be admired for his penetration, enlightenment, and wisdom, than for his numerous conquests and victories. Your Majesty is acquainted with his generosity and royal friendship, and cannot do better than follow the wise counsels of so great a King and so good a friend. For myself, Sire, I have never ceased to implore the God whom I worship for this grace for your Majesty, and would willingly give a thousand lives to obtain it from the Divine goodness. May your Majesty consider that by this you will exceed all that you have already done during your illustrious reign, that your memory will be immortalized, and that you will obtain for yourself everlasting glory and happiness in a future life!

"'I beseech you, Sire, reject not the proposal made to you by the ambassador of so great a sovereign, who desires thus to establish and render inviolable your Royal alliance and friendship together. Should your Majesty have the intention of doing so, and feel even the slightest inclination towards it, allow it to be known. No more welcome news could be carried to the King, his master. Should your Majesty have determined not to concede this point, or give a favourable reply to the ambassador, I would beg to be excused from conveying the Royal answer, which would indeed be displeasing to the God I worship. Let it not be deemed strange that I speak thus: one who is not faithful to his God cannot be so to his sovereign; and could I act differently, I should no longer deserve to be honoured by continuing in your service.'

"The King listened to this discourse of M. Constance without interruption; then, seeming to collect himself as one occupied with a great thought, he replied in the following terms:—'Fear not that I should desire to constrain your conscience. What, however, has induced my esteemed friend, the King of France, to suppose that such were my sentiments?' 'Who could imagine otherwise, Sire,' replied M. Constance, 'seeing the protection your Majesty affords to the missionaries, the churches you are building, the alms you bestow upon the reverend fathers in China? This, Sire, has persuaded the King of France that your Majesty was favourable to Christianity.' 'But when you informed the ambassador,' added the King, 'of the reasons which kept me in the reli-

gion of my ancestors, what answer did he give?' 'The French ambassador,' rejoined M. Constance, 'considered them weighty reasons; but as the proposal of the King, his master, was entirely disinterested, and this great monarch had in view only the good of your Majesty, he thought that these reasons should not prevent him from executing the orders of the King, his master, especially as he has learned that the Persian ambassador has arrived in Siam, bringing with him the Koran, that your Majesty may adopt it. The ambassador of France felt himself obliged to offer to your Majesty the Christian religion, beseeching your Majesty to embrace it.' 'Is it true,' replied the King, 'that the Persian ambassador is bringing me the Koran?' 'So it is said, Sire,' answered M. Constance: to which the King immediately rejoined, 'I wish with all my heart that the French ambassador were here to see how I receive the Persian ambassador. Were I to choose a religion, it would certainly not be Mahometanism.'

"'But, in answer to the French ambassador,' pursued the King, 'you will assure him from me, that I am greatly obliged to the King of France for the marks of friendship bestowed by his most Christian Majesty: the honour done me by this great prince is already publicly known in the East, and I cannot sufficiently express my sense of his courtesy. I regret, however, that my excellent friend the King of France has proposed to me a thing so difficult. I refer myself to the wisdom of the most Christian King, who can judge of the importance and of the difficulties of a matter so delicate as the change of a religion acknow-

ledged and followed uninterruptedly throughout the kingdom for the space of 2229 years.

"'For the rest, it is surprising to me that my esteemed friend the King of France should take so strong an interest in an affair which seems to belong to God, and which the Divine Being appears to have left entirely to our own discretion. For, would not the true God who made heaven and earth, and all that are therein—who has given to his creatures natures and inclinations differing from one another,—would He not, in giving souls and bodies to men, have inclined them to follow one religion—the form of worship most acceptable to himself, giving one law to all the nations of the world? This order among men and this unity of faith depending absolutely upon Divine Providence, who might so easily have introduced this, as the diversity of sects which have subsisted through all time; must we not believe that the true God is as well pleased to be honoured by different worship and ceremonies, as to be glorified by other beings, each after his own manner? Are the variety and beauty we admire in Nature less admirable in supernatural things—less worthy of the Divine wisdom? However this may be,' concluded his Majesty, 'since we know that God is the absolute Master of the world, and are persuaded that nothing is done contrary to His will, I resign myself and my States into the merciful hands of the Divine Providence, and beseech of His eternal wisdom that He will dispose of them according to His good pleasure. I explicitly desire you to inform the ambassador that I will omit nothing in my power to preserve the royal

friendship of the most Christian King; and that I will so act during the time it shall please God to preserve my life, that my successors and my subjects shall on every occasion show their gratitude and esteem for the royal person of his most Christian Majesty, and for all his successors.'

"This is the answer of the King of Siam, as he gave it to his minister, and as the latter delivered it in writing to the ambassador. This reasoning shows the intelligence of the Prince, who, without any knowledge of European science, has thus forcibly and clearly expressed the most plausible reasoning of Pagan philosophy against the only true faith. Those who know the upright character of the Prince cannot doubt that this is the sincere expression of his opinions, and of what appeared to him to be the truth.

"After the King had thus spoken, he kept silence for some time, and afterwards, looking at M. Constance, pursued: 'What do you think the ambassador will reply to the reasons I have desired you to give him in writing?' 'I will not fail, Sire,' said M. Constance, 'to execute the orders of your Majesty; but I know not what the French ambassador will answer to what your Majesty has just said, which appears to me exceedingly forcible. I am sure that he cannot fail to be surprised at the great wisdom and wonderful penetration of your Majesty. Nevertheless, it appears to me that he may reply to your Majesty, that although it be true that all the beings whom God has created glorify him each in his own manner, there is this difference between men and beasts, that God in creating the latter has given them

different properties, and peculiar instincts to know what is good for them and to seek it without reflection, to discern what is bad for them and avoid it without reasoning. Thus, the deer flies from the lion and the tiger at first sight; chickens newly hatched fear the kite, and hide themselves under their mother's wings, without other teaching than that of Nature. But God, in creating man, formed him with understanding and reason, to discern good from evil; and His Divine providence has willed that, in seeking and loving the good, which is proper for him, and flying the evil, which is contrary to the great end of knowing and loving God, man should obtain from the Divine goodness an everlasting reward.

"'It is, indeed, as easy for man to use his eyes, hands, and feet to do evil as to do good, if his prudence, enlightened by Divine wisdom, lead him not to seek the path of true greatness, which is to be found only in the Christian faith, which teaches man to serve God according to the Divine pleasure. But all men do not follow the holy light. In like manner, your Majesty's officers are not all equally attached to the interests of your Majesty, though all call themselves your subjects, and account it an honour to be in your service. So all men, indeed, serve God, though not all in like manner. Some, like the beasts, live according to their unruly passions, professing religion without following its precepts or examining its tenets; while others, seeing themselves raised so far above the beasts that perish, rise above the dominion of the senses; and their reason being enlightened

by the Divine Being, they seek to know Him, and to worship Him according to His will, without other interest than that of obeying and pleasing Him: and to this sincere following after truth God has attached the salvation of man. It follows, then, that negligence in learning, and weakness in our following what we believe to be best, make us guilty in the eyes of Him who is justice itself.'

"This reply from an unlearned man, who, from the age of ten, had been continually occupied in commerce and business, caused me no small surprise when he did me the honour of communicating it to me. I could not but assure him, without fearing to flatter, that the most consummate theologian could not have given a more satisfactory answer. The King was evidently impressed by the discourse of M. Constance; and if some learned person, agreeable to his Majesty, were so fortunate as to have his good-will and acquire his esteem, he might certainly be won to know and to embrace the truth: and should this be, as he is the master of his people, who idolize him, all the nations subject to his government would blindly follow his example."*

In a letter to me from the First King, he speaks of a large telescope which was formerly possessed by the King of Siam. I find, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, a reference to an excellent telescope, five feet long, with which the King looked at the eclipse (A.D. 1686). The inquiries of the King were judicious, and creditable to his curiosity. Phaulcon was the interpreter.

* Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, pp. 302—314.

The Jesuit Father De Fontaney speaks naturally enough of the overthrow of the great designs which he (Phaulcon) had formed for the benefit of religion, and for the glory of the French nation. In looking from this distance of time on the proceedings of Phaulcon, it is somewhat difficult to say how far his patronage of the Jesuits and advocacy of the views of France were consistent with the duties he owed to the King and to the people of Siam. It is quite clear that he was utterly blind to his own real position, and wholly miscalculated, like many other ambitious men, the strength of his influence. No doubt, the acts which made Phaulcon the idol of the Catholics,—such as the facilities he gave to the preaching and the protection he extended to the persons of the missionaries, not only in Siam, but in every country to which his power reached—his liberal gifts, his building of churches, his obvious and avowed partizanship,—were the immediate causes of the distrust of the Siamese, and of his own downfall, disgrace, and death.

I find, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, references to a treaty between France and Siam, among whose conditions is that of delivering to the French all the pepper produced in Siam at 16 crowns the bahar, which weighs 375 pounds, retaining only one-tenth of the produce for the trade with China and Japan. The writer insists that the French could, under the treaty, not only supply Europe, Bengal, Coast of Coromandel, Surat, and all the extent of Persia, with pepper, but put an end to the larceny which gives to the Dutch such profits, from their position in the East.

IV.—*Spanish Missions.*

I shall find no more convenient place than the present for introducing such accounts of Siam as I have found in the Spanish historians. The translations are principally from works printed in the Philippines; and as the narrations have a certain character of originality, and exhibit Siam as seen, not in its relations with distant European sovereigns or peoples, but with the governor and inhabitants of a not remote Spanish colony, I have thought the records worth preserving; nor have I changed the strange and characteristic style of the narrative, so often inflated and bombastic.

Short Description of the Kingdom of Siam.

[From the Spanish.]

The information that these religious men (*i. e.*, Catholic missionaries) acquired and left us of the kingdom of Siam, opens the door for me to write a short description, according to the information which at the present time my curiosity has sought, since, in the course of about two centuries, variations enough are to be found.

One of the kingdoms of the greatest magnitude in Asia is that of Siam, or of Sornau, which lies from the Point of Malacca to the kingdoms of Laos and Pegu. These bound it on the north; on the west it reaches to Bengal, and on the east to Cambodia and China. Its coasts are washed by one sea on the

north and by another on the south, by that of India towards Junsalem and Tenasserim, and by that of China towards Mompolocota, Zey, Ligor, Chantabun, and Berdiò; in which situation it forms a real peninsula, whose depth of land towards the north is yet unknown.

The capital city, metropolis, or court of this great kingdom, they also call Siam, well known by its proper name of *Odiaà*, or *Hodia*, with *J* or with *H*, as the natives are accustomed to write it. On the meridian of the Ferroe Islands, according to Nicholas Fèr, stands this city, in 118° longitude, and North latitude 14°. From the lake Syamèy, which is in 30° North, the deep river Menam branches off, and divides the whole length of the kingdom of Siam through the centre, until it falls into the sea at 13° North, having surrounded the city of Odiaà on three sides. On account of which, and of sixteen other rivers of less abundance which pass through the city, and because during six months of the year it does not cease raining, and also because the greatest part of this kingdom consists of valleys and plains of fertile land which yield abundant crops of rice, the whole kingdom is generally inundated by the waters, as well as the city, whose gates and streets are passed in boats; although art has been able to invent some canals, with their bridges of brick and lime, by means of which one can walk on foot towards the east.

It has also thick mountain ridges, with timbers of especial value, such as ebony, teak, aguila, and Brazil, with which more than a hundred junks and

tenders are laden every year for Surat and Bengal—for China and Hainan—for Loo Choo, Cambodia, and Champa; and in these thickets are found, in immense numbers, elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, carabaos, and deer, from hunting which Siam derives much profit. This kingdom abounds in mines of gold, silver, iron, steel, lead, tin, saltpetre, and sulphur. There is much silk and cotton, and many looms for making their clothes, without needing those of any other nation. There is honey, wax, sugar, aguila, benzoin, lac-lake, indigo, rubies, sapphires, and ivory, in great quantity. Here are found the birds' nests of so much importance and value; flesh, fish, and rice in abundance; much cinnamon, pepper, ginger, camphor, alum, cassia, rhubarb, and cardamum, all in remarkable abundance. So that this kingdom is one of the richest and most agreeable in the whole world, and (in the opinion of many) one of the most easy to be conquered and preserved.

Its opulence does not diminish, since there are few nations with which Siam does not keep up a lively trade. In the circumference of the city are general factories in assigned territories,—Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, Jewish, Moorish, Armenian, Chinese, and Japanese. And here the pious reader may observe what a Geneva this city will be, with the liberty of conscience in which each nation may live, since Catholic and Christian hold their churches in their territories without molestation—the Jew his synagogue, the Moor his mosque, and so with the others, without interfering with one another in points of law, but all united for commerce. For this commerce,

and that of the merchants of Java, Ovale, Madura, Augee, Borneo, and Solor, there is not a year in which more than a thousand vessels of all sizes do not sail in continual traffic, with which the ports of Siam are always occupied. The King also sends his ships for trade to Surat, to Bengal, to Mecca; and to Madras every year for traffic in elephants, which is considerable. From all of which, if the Siamese merchants derive profit, much more does the King from the fees of the custom-house and trade. In this manner are collected the Royal revenues of the whole kingdom, which each year exceed (on the most moderate computation) twelve millions (cuentos) of common gold; besides other ordinary services which the gentlemen his vassals perform for their King, and without reckoning the estates of all the rich men whose wealth passes into the Royal Treasury. And every time that this monarch finds himself obliged to take the field in war, he quickly musters about three hundred thousand men, ten thousand elephants, and other beasts of burden which cannot be numbered.

This kingdom must contain about two thousand seven hundred towns and cities, which they call *Prodiem*, to distinguish them from the innumerable hamlets and small populations of which no account is taken, nor can they be numbered. The greater part of all these towns are without any special fortress, and some entrenchments of stakes serve as rampart-walls for their defence; excepting the great city of *Luvoa*, which was formerly a Court, and is preserved with a good fortification.

This King of Siam pays tribute only to the Great

China, by agreement, in order to allow his ships to pass free to Port Couhay. But to him thirteen other kings, who are in the dominions of Siam, pay tribute every year. Formerly they used to come to the city of Odiaà to make their *Sumbaya* (which was to kiss the sword of their Grand Señor); and now, by the Royal command, they come to make it before his viceroy, at the city of Ligor, which in their language they call Poyho: and at this time there is for all a free day granted by the King, in the course of which they generally number more than fifteen hundred ships of various kinds, and merchandise of value. The reverence that the Siamese pay to their King is excessive, even becoming adoration. They all prostrate themselves on the floor in the Royal presence; and when the King comes out of his palace, the whole city is informed, in order that they may conceal themselves; for he does not allow himself to be seen, except on a day assigned for special ceremonial. Of the present King it is said that he acts otherwise, from the love that he bears to his subjects, and his remarkable affability. He holds different councils, at which he punctually attends. The Queen also holds her councils of women.

This kingdom was formerly subject to that of Pegu, and a viceroy took possession of it; wherefore, between these two powers there were very pertinacious wars. But the founders of Siam (as one of their great counsellors told our priests in the year 1583) came out of a great city which was in the deserts of Cambodia (of whose ruins and vestiges there are witnesses now), and that these same men brought the

law which is in strict observance up to the present time; and that the first legislator had been the first King of Cambodia, who, after having married and had a large family, retired to the said deserts to lead the life of a solitary hermit,—who, having reached the highest summit of perfection, gave a law to his subjects, that they might live in justice and rectitude; and this is that which the founders brought to Siam.

This law (he said) contains six precepts, which are—the first, to adore and honour their God, His word, and those who imitate His virtue; the second, to kill neither man nor animal; the third, not to steal; the fourth, not to lie; the fifth, not to commit adultery; the sixth, not to drink any intoxicating liquor. For the observance of this law, preaching is continued among the talapoys (who are their priests). These priests are so numerous, that at that time they reckoned more than a hundred thousand in the city and its environs; which not only is not contradicted by Spaniards of the present time who have been in Siam, but it appears to them that the multitude is now much greater. All these are ranked in three different classes of religion: one, whose profession is the solitary hermit life, each man living separately in his hermitage; another, of those who live in community, and, at the sound of a bell, at the same hours, attend in numbers to sing, recite, and pray. These men live as by the providence of God; since, every morning, the whole community issue forth with great modesty and outward composure, and, going all round the city, without speaking a word or begging, receive such alms as people choose

to give them, of eatable things, which they place in little baskets they carry for that purpose; and, having received what they need for that day to eat, they return to their convents without taking more.

The third religion is that of the masters and legislators, whom they call *Brahmins,* who also live in community, but with greater grandeur, opulence, and ostentation. They hold the pulpits and professorships as masters of the law; they teach the people, visit the sick, and attend their death-beds, like ministers of Lucifer; they are the curates or chaplains of the ships of war, as also counsellors for any stratagem or military arbitration. From all which they not only derive great profit, but assume a very ostentatious bearing, which they show in their walk and conversation.

Among all these there is in the city one *chief talapoy,* whom they call the Sancrat, and he is like the pope of that nation. They all serve him on their knees, and pay him adoration; and he shows deference to none, not even to the King himself. He nominates bishops, and performs other acts of supreme dignity; and the bishops fulfil his orders, in their way, with all solemnity; and this is the sect which most agrees with Christianity, in articles of faith and religious observance. Their temples are more than a thousand, within and without the city, besides being of great beauty and grandeur, with curious *façades* of first-rate work, and with a variety of towers, pyramids, and pillars, of great height; which, although all is made of wood on account of the earthquakes of the country, make a pleasant

variety to the sight, by their gilded sculpture and colouring. In the interior are so many idols and ornaments on their altars, that they cannot be numbered: for all are at liberty to make gods of the material and size they can best afford, and of the form suited to their need; but all are equally gilded; and in building and adorning temples and idols they spend their wealth with great satisfaction. They believe in one God—in heaven, hell, good and evil angels, and that men may attain to the perfection of God by means of various transmigrations from animal to animal; but all this belief is with such strange modes of interpretation, that if at any time they had the light of the true faith (as some are of opinion), they now see only the shadows of what it once was. And there is no human power to draw them from such error; for, denying reason, with which the Christians endeavour to argue with them, they maintain their blind obstinacy to this day.

They are very moderate in their eating and clothing, much disposed to mercy and pity; they give themselves much to letters, especially to astrology, on account of their great appetite for divination.

Their features and figures are not ill-looking; but the women of Pegu are more beautiful, and fairer. The temperature of the climate of Siam is that of the Philippines, with little variation; and in the intelligence and genius of the people there is great similarity.

In the territory or district of the Portuguese, there are two churches, or ministries of doctrine, of that

nation; one of Dominican priests, and the other of the Company of Jesus. Here our priests had their church in the year 1583; but it was afterwards lost; as now also there is to be seen a deserted hermitage belonging to the Religiosos Calzados of St. Augustine.

There is a bishop of the French nation, in their own district, which is named *Bamplahet*, who is also Vicar Apostolic of the Kingdom of Siam. In this district is the celebrated Seminary of French Clerical Fathers, with spiritual administration. Near it are the three colleges of grammar, philosophy, and theology, each with its master and rector; and here are found the Seminarists, who live in community and in great order, who belong to the various nations, and who assemble there. This Seminary has its origin from that of the Propaganda of Paris, where is formed a great savings' bank of all the wealth and patrimonies of the clerical gentlemen who are disposed to come to preach the faith in East India, China, Japan, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Tonquin; by the products of which they are supported, as these in the Seminary of Siam: so that the King of France contributes some stipend to the bishop, and his maintenance; and all the remaining expenses of the Seminary pass on account to the Seminary of Paris.

This Seminary is held in such veneration by this people, the grandees, and the King himself, that it enjoys all ecclesiastical immunities as if it were in Europe; in such sort that, without first giving notice to the bishop, and without his special licence,

no one can enter his district, not even the *Strong Arm*, who is the *lord chief-justice* of the King; who is so jealous of the honour of all our priests in common, that there is no example of the secular arm entering their districts or dependencies. It is the same King who entreats the King of France that a bishop of his nation may not be wanting, because he says that he ensures his kingdom through him, and in his grave affairs he employs him as his chief counsellor.

The employment of these apostolic men is to take charge in their district of the whole spiritual administration of all the Christians who live in it. They also go, with the title of physicians, into the houses of the infidels in the city, and, under the pretext of curing the innocent children who are about to die, give them the water of holy baptism, as if it were some great bodily medicine; and it is observed that among thousands of these baptized children, it is very rarely that any one has been known to survive, because they only give baptism to those who have one or two little black marks on the second joint of the middle fingers, which the most high providence of God generally places as infallible signs that they are very soon to die.

The Siamese who have not much wealth are also accustomed to take their dying sick into the field, and throwing them down, there leave them to die. For the practice of mercy these reverend Seminarists, in such extreme need, have built in the same field a hospital, where they go every day to receive these dying persons with great charity and

solicitude, and attend them and take care of them as long as the illness lasts, during which many have obtained the blessing of conversion. These Seminarists have three other ministers without the city, in Mergui, Tenasserim, and Cantabun.*

In the year 1590, the King of Cambodia sent a mission to the Governor of the Philippines, requesting his assistance in the war against the Siamese. This application was repeated with some success in 1629, when shipwrights were shipped from Manila, by the governor, to instruct the Cambodians; the Siamese having, in consequence of outrages committed by the Spaniards in Siam, demanded and been refused redress. Spanish influence was therefore enlisted on the Cambodian side. In 1717, commissioners from the Governor of the Philippines were despatched to Siam for the purpose of establishing commercial relations, and obtaining permission to build a Spanish factory. Matters were in process of satisfactory adjustment, when news reached the Court of Siam that a Siamese vessel and crew had been ill-treated in Manila by the Spaniards. This untoward event frustrated the purpose of the Mission, and, as far as I can learn, no attempts to renew negotiations have since been made.

I have discovered a very curious narrative of the Spanish Mission to Siam at the beginning of the last century, of which I give a verbal translation, repre-

* *Cronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio.* Manila, 1738. Part i., cap. xxi., p. 667—673.

senting something of the strange and quaint style of the original. It would be difficult to find a more amusing contrast than the ostentatious and glowing description of the reception of the Embassy, and the short paragraph which records the miserable failure of the whole.

Account of the Embassy of the King of Spain to Siam.

[Translated from the 15th volume of the *Historia General de las Filipinas*, part ix., chap. x., p. 240—266.]

1. To distrust oneself and to be attentive to the counsel (of others) is the evidence of a noble mind; but it is a proof of weakness to suppose there exists a capacity for every purpose. Desires become circumspect with our hesitation in acknowledging error. There is nothing like fearing danger and preventing it; but presumption may take other forms, and everything be perverted. Mindful of noisy and magnificent projects, our Governor Don Fernando, less circumspect in his laborious and dependent government, indefinitely extended his limits on the strength of such presumptions. He resolved and commanded that an ambassador should hasten to the kingdom of Siam; and, qualified and invested with this character, the captain of his guard, Don Gregorio Bustamente Bustillo, his nephew, prepared two ships, bearing the names of the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*—the former Our Lady of Carmen, and the latter Jesus, Mary, and Joseph—in charge of the General Don Benito Carrasco Paniagua, and of the Admiral Don Andres Garcia Hernandez. The motive of this

Embassy was to establish with that King (of Siam) and this new kingdom of Castile, and the Philippine Isles and their wealthy commerce, a friendly peace, which was offered to them on the part of our King Philip the Fifth.

2. He drew up instructions for establishing harmony and intercourse between the ambassador and the general, in order that matters might be executed in a manner suitable to the character of an ambassador, as the direct representative of so sovereign a King as H.M. of Spain; and that it should be with the greater distinction, as it had been customary with the ambassadors of the King of France; and that they should even try to augment such honours for the better union of the two kingdoms, giving it to be understood, immediately on their reaching the port, that they were conveying costly presents for the said King, showing becoming attention to the mandarin who should be charged with receiving them: that, having arrived at the port of Siam, they were all to be subject to the orders of the ambassador until the commission should be completed, conferring on whatever might happen with the general, for the greater security, and substituting, in case of accident (to the ambassador), General Carrasco.

3. That they should thoroughly study the customs of the kingdom, in order to arrange the ceremonial with all prudence, using especial caution in everything, gaining information from Spaniards, or from other Europeans. And it would be well that they should hold courteous intercourse with the Dutch, especially with the chief men, or officials, in order

thoroughly to penetrate into the customs of the country; and as, in any circumstance, though slight, good opportunities are apt to be lost, they should confer upon this with some French missionaries, who might, with greater ingenuity, inform them of the most suitable means of obtaining the desired correspondence: that, in the same manner, they should place themselves in communication, on the road from the port to the Court, with some minister of the King, to ensure a good reception, and the authority with which the Embassy was to be entertained, the general accompanying him for the greater convenience; and that in every case he should urge, as much as possible, that the King of Siam himself should receive and distinguish him, so that (his mission fulfilled) he might speedily return.

4. The two ships reached the kingdom of Siam on the 4th of April, 1718; and General Carrasco despatched the Captain Don Miguel de Jauregui to the city of Siam, with letters to his Excellency Señor Barcalan,* as minister of that kingdom, announcing to him his arrival at the bar of that river, in which he had anchored with his *Capitana* and *Almiranta* for the purpose of conveying the person of the most illustrious Señor Don Gregorio de Bustamente, who bore an embassy to the most high and powerful King of Siam, in the name of the King of Spain, upon subjects important to both their Majesties, for which he requested an immediate interview with the Royal

The title is here mistaken for the name of the minister for foreign

person: that, coming for so high an object, with the ships and persons in his charge, and sea-provisions, he entreated his Excellency to arrange the manner in which the said ambassador was to be received, conformably with the character of those who in Europe were despatched to kings; and that his ships might remain in the position in which they were, without anything being done in them to the prejudice of his Catholic Majesty. He did not doubt that the orders would be given in accordance with his representations.

5. He also despatched letters to the Lord Bishop of Sabola, Don Luis de Site, Vicar Apostolic of the Kingdom of Japan; to the Rector of the Company of Jesus; to the Vicar of Saint Domingo; and to M. Rene, to whom he gave notice of his arrival, and how he was conveying an ambassador to their shores. And in order that all might be happily fulfilled, he entreated them to assist in the success of the Embassy, and to inform him of the customs of the kingdom. On the 13th day, the messenger Jauregui brought back the answers; and that of the Barcalan was, to send a deputy to make particular inquiries from whom he came, and about the people and the provisions of the ships; which he did.

6. They also received answering letters from the Father Rector of the Company, from which they determined that the Admiral Don Andres should go to the city with a letter for the Father Rector himself; acknowledging in it the satisfaction given by his careful advice, that in that kingdom there were many malignant Europeans, and that by signs he

could hold private intercourse with Don Guillermo Dant. He begged his Reverence to inform him what should be done in order to ensure success, and to make as much *éclat* as possible. After this letter was despatched, a mandarin arrived at the *Capitana*, sent by the King, with two Portuguese interpreters,—one Don Guillermo Dant, the other Don Juan de Sequeria (Sequeira). They saluted the ambassador in the name of the King of Siam, who (they said) wished to know if the letter which he brought was direct from the King of Spain, or from the Governor of the Philippines; to which he answered that they came from the Governor of the Philippines, who, in virtue of various Royal grants, held the power to send such an embassy in the name of the King, his master; and that such a letter, in virtue of such grants, had the same force as if the King had signed it himself, and so the Embassy was in his Royal name: which answer they interpreted, and wrote down in their own character.

7. The Admiral Don Andres returned to the *Capitana*, and said that the Father Rector had communicated with him, and opened various ways by which he could visit different persons who could co-operate in forwarding the objects of the Embassy; that the Barcalan would not listen to him, and advised him to return to the port, where they would make known to him the orders. The mandarin returned with the interpreters. They saluted the ambassador in the name of their King and of the Barcalan, and discussed and explained the question of whether the Embassy were from the King or from

the Governor; and being answered as before, they said it was the custom of the country that all ships should deposit their cannon and ammunition on land, and that to convey them to the capital would be inexcusable. The general said that the present Embassy held other relations, being from such a sovereign as the Catholic King; and that so he should grant them a passport without taking notice of his armament, and that he should make it known to his Majesty the King of Siam and the Lord Barcalan. And the determination was, that they should not proceed without depositing their arms, according to their immemorial custom, in which no remission was possible; and to that the ambassadors of France, Portugal, Persia, Japan, and China had submitted; by which he was satisfied, as before.

8. This contest detained the Embassy, the Siamese being resolved to preserve their laws; and thinking that the establishment of an amicable peace would not be agreed upon if the customs of their kingdom were disturbed, it was intimated to them, on the part of the King, that in complaisance to our great monarch, the King of Siam condescended to allow the artillery to be landed, keeping back the ammunition: and, after some altercations, it was agreed on both sides that the guns of eight and ten pounds calibre should be landed, keeping the remainder, with the ammunition, for the defence of the ships. Upon this they entered the river, and there the ceremonial was arranged, in which there were not wanting difficulties, which were honourably overcome; besides many others created by the

Portuguese, in spite of our bringing from their King direct and sealed letters; omitting to relate the form observed towards the messenger of the King of France at his reception; for to bear the French name was hateful in that kingdom since the revolt that these had made, for which reason it was a crime to mention them.

9. On the 22nd of May, the day fixed for the landing and entrance into the city, at five o'clock in the morning they began to send down vessels to the number of more than a hundred; and in the principal ones were different persons, who went on board the *Capitana*. Then followed those of state, which were six in number, one of them new, and just launched, for the ambassador, with curtains of cloth of gold, the awning covered with fine scarlet cloth ornamented with fringes of gold and silk; the seats with carpets, and two cushions of Persian cloth of gold; the rowers, more than thirty in number, with liveries, according to the custom of the kingdom. Another separate bark contained the letter for the King, with four mandarins in charge of it; and the four remaining were for the presents and the persons accompanying them, with others for the halberdiers and soldiers. The letter was placed in a box of more than a tierce in length and a span in height, ornamented with silver, and in it a casket of beautiful gold filigree, from which the ambassador took it, and placed it in a purse of smooth satin richly embroidered with scarlet.

10. So the general took it to the bark which was waiting, and they laid it on a prepared and gilded

throne, in order that all the spectators, who were innumerable, might make the customary acknowledgments. The ships, which were much decorated, fired their salutes on the landing of the ambassador, who proceeded, with all his train, to the city, taking with him the royal ensign (officer), who hoisted our royal standard, with the royal arms, and those of the City of Manila. On arriving at the College of the Company, its bells chimed; the Dutch Factory fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and displayed their banners. They reached one of the city gates, at which were stationed the King's guards, and eleven horses richly caparisoned, and a gilded frame, in which the letter was placed, which four mandarins bore on their shoulders. The ambassador mounted and rode to the Royal Court, in the principal hall of which stood a squadron of infantry, who made way for him: he dismounted at the door, and there the Barcalan, accompanied by mandarins, received him with much courtesy. The ambassador and his companions entered the Royal Court with their shoes on, while many Portuguese, English, and Dutch were without them. The ambassador having taken a seat, the royal musicans began to play on a variety of instruments; they distinguished the ambassador by one (Buceta de buys?), which was of gold, the sign of a mandarin of the first class. The music ceasing, the Barcalan saluted the ambassador through interpreters in the name of his King, bidding him welcome to that kingdom: he inquired after the health of his most Serene Highness, our Catholic Monarch, and that of the marshal governor; to which the

ambassador replied with agreeable expressions, and the Barcalan likewise.

11. These ceremonies being ended, General Carrasco took the purse which was in the golden casket in which was the letter. The Barcalan rose from his seat, with the rest of the mandarins, and received it, kissed it, and, with profound acknowledgments, placed it on his head. He also received the boxes in which were the presents, and they were seen locked up in the same hall. The ambassador departed, and was conducted to the palace of the most excellent Señor Oyasinorat, in which he had prepared a great banquet, with such variety of food that there were more than two hundred dishes; and it lasted from twelve o'clock till three in the afternoon. The dinner-service which the ambassador used was of gold, belonging to the King himself, which must have been worth two hundred and eighty thousand dollars; and that used at the second table was of silver. There was another banquet at night, no less splendid, which lasted until daybreak. The whole palace was richly ornamented, but particularly the ambassador's chamber, with cloth of gold tapestries, and covered with rich carpets; the bed was magnificent; and the general and the other gentlemen who accompanied him were lodged in proportion. The hall in which visits were received was hung with tapestry and with a canopy. The infantry and the halberdiers were lodged in quarters in the small square of the same palace. The King of Siam wished to supply these with a monthly sum of money, and to maintain them

at his own cost; but the ambassador only permitted the daily allowance, which continued all the time that they were in Siam—a favour which had not been granted to other ambassadors.

12. On the 23rd of May, about eight o'clock in the morning, there arrived at the ambassador's palace two mandarins of the first class on two elephants, with more than forty guards each. They were favourites of the King, and in his name bade the ambassador welcome; and they were sent to know whether, in the palace in which he was lodged, anything were wanting in the service or the adornments suitable to the rank of his person. The ambassador gave a gracious reply, and informed them that all was perfect, as arranged according to the order of so powerful a lord as the great King of Siam. They came also to know the day on which he wished to deliver the letter; and it was agreed on both sides that it should be on the 8th of June, that there might be sufficient time for preparations. On this day, a great number of mandarins assembled at this palace, to whom was delivered a special letter for the Sovereign, which they received with much pomp; and the ambassador proceeded, with a splendid train, through the streets of the city. He went to the house of the Lord Barcalan, who returned to him the letter for the King, which was transcribed in the idiom of the country, in order that he might deliver it himself on the day of the embassy; and having received it with much ostentation, he returned to his palace, accompanied by mandarins and guards, where grand refreshments were served.

13. This affair was delayed on account of various difficulties in complying with the ceremonials of the kingdom, and they were properly overcome. On the 22nd of June, at five o'clock in the morning, the King's guards assembled in the hall of his palace, and in the adjoining street, composed of archers, fusiliers, and lancers, and that of the elephants; a suitable number of horses, adorned, especially the one prepared for the ambassador: and in the same manner came great mandarins and Portuguese. At six o'clock, the ambassador issued from his private room into the hall, and gave orders to start, the standard of our royal arms going in front. He mounted on horseback, and, with a great noise of trumpets and drums, they proceeded to one of the gates of the city, where he embarked; and going up the river, they reached the gates of the Royal Palace, in which were an innumerable company of mandarins to receive him.

14. He entered the first hall, in which were many elephants of war; in the second hall, many squadrons of archers and soldiers; a still greater number of arquebusiers in the third hall. He passed through a great many halls, in which there were many mandarins, who prostrated themselves in token of respect; and the ensign, elevating the royal standard, passed the rest of the train who accompanied him. The ambassador took the letter from the frame, and began to mount a carpeted staircase, where the Barcalan and the generalissimo of arms received him. He entered here, and in rather more than an hour came out with a flame-coloured field-coat with flowers of

gold—a badge which confers nobility on those who receive it at the hands of the King. He immediately delivered his despatches to the King, in the same manner and place in which was delivered that of the Most Christian King of France, and in which he receives the King of Cambodia when he makes his visit in person. The ambassador saluted his Majesty in the European manner, with his hat, and his short sword placed on one side, and with shoes faced with a kind of embroidery, and with heel-pieces. His seat was at a distance of six cubits from the throne, with six carpets, the Barcalan and the generalissimo of arms being without any.

15. In this order the ambassador addressed the King, and discussed the affairs of his embassy, which met with success. This being ended, the King commanded his prime minister to show them the white elephant, and the one with short tusks, which those of the train saw; and the service in which they eat and drink, which are large vessels or mangers of gold, and their tusks were enclosed at intervals with this metal; and of the same were the chains which confined them in their separate apartments, and a rich and large pavilion for their accommodation. From thence they took them to see the State horses, which were adorned, some with pearls, others with diamonds, others with emeralds and rubies; and the reins were thick cords of gold of exquisite workmanship, every one admiring the wealth displayed. They saw the artillery, which was in one of the divisions of the palace, containing in it bronze cannons of forty pounds. About eleven o'clock in the day, the ambas-

sador embarked with all his train, and returned to his palace, in which he found a splendid banquet prepared by the King's command. The covers were of silver and gold, in such abundance that the admiration was universal; the royal pages serving them with an exquisite variety of delicacies; which lasted until five in the evening. The servants departed with presents of jewels; and to a great number of Siamese who had assembled to see so solemn a ceremony, the ambassadors threw a quantity of silver money.

16. The letter to the King of Siam was as follows:—"Most high and powerful King of Siam,—The most high and sovereign Royal Majesty of the Catholic King, Don Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, whose living representation and might has been graciously conferred upon me, of his royal magnificence, places my loyalty under obligation to the most punctual fulfilment of his royal commands; and it being so, to maintain an amicable intercourse with the surrounding Kings. In order that this may be accomplished with the dominions of your Majesty, and that the subjects both of the one and the other may derive the benefits that their commerce offers, may enjoy the liberty which on my part I offer, and that, going on to greater progress, they may make manifest the glory of their sovereigns, I have determined, in the royal name of the King my master, to send to those kingdoms the captain of my guards, Don Gregorio Bustamente Bustillo, my nephew, with the credence and rank of ambassador to your Majesty, that he may signify the same by word, and that he may acknowledge my obligation and special affection, as

the proper charge of his embassy; so that he may secure to your Majesty the efficacious desires that may assist me in maintaining with your Majesty the most firm, intimate, and sincere union, which corresponds with the royal gratitude of the Catholic King, my master, by which means the good effects will be accomplished which the royal will of your Majesty and your greater pleasure intend; which the ambassador will manifest with lively expressions, and with a display of what the country produces; whose person will be attended with the courtesy due to his office, and to that which the benignity of your Majesty promises, for whom I desire the highest felicity."

17. The presents for the King consisted of one diamond ornament, of the value of two thousand dollars; another of the same, worth one thousand dollars; a third, of the same value; one with seventy-two emeralds, some large and some small; another with a hundred and eighty emeralds of all sizes; an emerald ring in the shape of a heart; another like a rose of seven emeralds; a plume of fifty, two of them large; another of small emeralds, eighty in number, and two calabashes of the same; three chains of gold, of fourfold splendour; a small gold chain in a stick; six ornamented rings; a tray of enamelled silver, rather less than a yard in length; four saucers of enamelled silver; one small enamelled drinking-vessel, with a cover; four small boxes of filigree silver; twelve small silver plates; a large salver, and a fountain, made of silver; a salt-cellar, and a silver perfuming vase; a silver shell in the shape of an eagle, for shaving; a silver salver, with its vases; a platter,

with its little filigree cup; a case made of shell, ornamented with silver filigree and with Barcelona stones; a large silver fountain, two saucers, two little cups, a large silver salver, and a fountain of the same; six little dishes, three saucers, five bows with golden nails; six chocolate-cups set in filigree silver; two small vessels of catbalonga; two small vessels ornamented in silver with the arms of the governor; a small vessel of boxwood flowered with gold; a pavilion of yellow damask, with fringes and endless ornaments; five pieces of damask for another pavilion, and two other pieces besides; six fine mats, worked and embroidered with scarlet silk, with ornaments of the same; two flasks of powder; six *tibots* of prepared chocolate; a small case with six boxes of sweetmeats; a little pot of reeds, with sweet-scented pastiles; a large earthen jar of tomato sweetmeat; a jar of Mani sweetmeats; two jars of marquesotes, two of small biscuits, two of coriander sweetmeats; twelve jugs, with salvers and bowls, and other trinkets, from Guadalajara; two hundred seeds of catbologan; six coach-horses for use; two excellent street-horses, with embroidered trappings; two others for carriages; two hundred and fifty measures of sulphur, a musket of three pieces, and a pair of pistols ornamented with silver.

18. The King of Siam gave other presents in return for our King and master, Don Philip the Fifth, which consisted of four pieces of cloth, one silvered, of forty-four varas; another blue, of forty-one; another violet, of thirty-nine; another black, of forty-two; three pieces of velvet, violet, crimson, and light

green; three pieces of satin of gold, from China; twenty-three pieces of merchandise, from Persia, Surat, and Bengal; thirty-six pieces of chitas, and four sarazas, being cotton prints; fifty small veils; four hundred and seventeen china plates, large and small; three hundred and twenty-five china cups; forty-three little lacquer boxes and trays; a copper candlestick, with silver inlaid work; six small basins, and a water-jug, of inlaid copper. The Barcalan replied in the name of his King to the governor's letter, as was due to him, by the order of the King, his master; informing him that the ambassador had arrived with his lordship's letter, and how, as he represented the royal person of the most high and powerful King of Spain, it caused no little joy to his Majesty of Siam, as he proved in the singular demonstrations of his sovereign liberality in public audiences; how, also, his most Serene Highness, the brother of his Majesty, signified by demonstrations his singular pleasure: that the King, his master, greatly praised the thought of his Majesty of Spain, one of the most powerful princes of Europe, in directing his lordship to send this Embassy, saying that it suited a prince of great wisdom and intelligence; and he esteemed the design and desire of the Majesty of the King of Spain in the more special negotiations contained in the letter that his lordship had written, of which the King was fully informed, and answered with signs of cordial friendship; and that to his lordship belonged the means that might lead to the preservation of the good understanding between both Crowns.

19. The capitulations were reduced to these articles of peace, friendship, and mutual commerce; and land was granted for the building a factory on the shores of the river, in which our ships might easily anchor; and it is that which was formerly called Japan Plain, and is now called Our Lady of Soto, and is seventy-four fathoms in length and in width towards the east, and a hundred from the river. And Don Benito Carrasco took possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and the standard with the royal arms was raised in token of possession, so that they might build as was most convenient. It was also agreed, as in Siam ships and galleons are built conveniently, that if the Spaniards wished to build them, timber should be prepared for them of teak, which is the kind found in the kingdom, at the usual price, as also the iron necessary for building them; and also that they should pay the officials for carpenters, sawyers, and caulkers. That if the place assigned should not appear sufficient for such manufactures, and the person who should come in charge should wish for another, one more convenient would be conceded, besides that assigned.

20. That the money which the ships should bring from Manila for trading, say twenty or thirty or forty thousand dollars, they should be able to exchange with the officials of Kang, the superior of the factory being bound to a manifestation of all on every voyage; and if any one should trade secretly, notice should be given to the governor of the factory, that he might punish him according to the fault: and he should be bound to give notice in Manila as to the merchan-

dise of that kingdom which might find a value in Manila and New Spain. And it was agreed that any persons might buy whatever they pleased, excepting saltpetre and ivory, which belonged to the Royal Kang; and if any one wished to buy these two articles, he should give notice to the Barcalan, and he could supply him with them by his licence. Only the exportation of the skins of cows and goats, and of *calain* (tin), was forbidden, because the Dutch had asked for these two things for themselves when they erected their factory, and his Majesty had granted them to them. That the official merchants of Siam who should go to Manila in their ships should not be obliged to pay taxes on entering and leaving, as those from Manila were to be exempt from them in Siam, as was conformable to the Royal friendship. The articles were approved by the ambassador and the general, as granted and agreed to by his Majesty the King of Siam, that they should be mutually observed, and in case of infraction should not be binding on the innocent party.

21. All being so arranged, the ambassador took leave of the King, who granted him a public audience, and received him in the same manner as at the first, being in conference with his Majesty, through the interpreter, for nearly an hour. He came out with another dress, which showed that his Majesty had made him a grandee of that kingdom: others of cloth were given to those of his train; and the Lord Barcalan, by the order of the King, offered and pressed the ambassador to accept fifty thousand dollars, which he refused, but with grateful acknowledgments. They

also gave him permission to go and see the great pagoda, which is the most celebrated in this kingdom, and was permitted only to the ambassador of the King of France. This stands within the King's Palace, carefully walled up. They saw, in the first portico, twelve figures of alabaster, sent by the King of France; as also a bull and a deer moulded in bronze, of the actual size, all in the said portico, and surrounded by various pyramids of immense bulk, with large balls of crystal on their tops, and at intervals many idols arranged, of gilded bronze. And within was the principal nave, covered with Persian carpets; and in the two collaterals were a great number of ministers of the law (bonzes), clothed in yellow: and on surveying the whole, they admired its grandeur. The principal idol was all of wrought gold, valued at three millions and a half (of dollars), containing in it many diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. The remaining idols were of silver, and much jewellery was contained in them. There were two urns of gold and crystal, a yard high, a present from the King of France; with magic lanterns and other trinkets, gifts from different Kings of India. Large octagonal columns supported it, gilded to the summit. They were convinced that no other in the world could equal it in grandeur.

22. The King of Siam held festivities of three days for the ambassador, with a play and other diversions only seen on such occasions, during which there were splendid banquets; and the ambassador liberally responded to all, considering that all was done in deference to his Catholic Majesty. Having

made in the capital of Siam a general proclamation that all the mandarins, on pain of death, should attend at the embarkation of the ambassador for his return to the Philippines,—as was done, the concourse being numerous, with the guards of the King himself,—the ambassador left his palace, and departed with all the train, who carried the frame with the letter from the King of Siam in reply to that of the governor. And at the sound of several instruments he embarked, sailing down the river, and reached his ship, on which they embarked, and which the mandarins also boarded, taking leave in their turn: and the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* left the river to return to Manila in August, 1718. There came before them, to enter upon the new commerce, a ship of Siamese, with a letter from the ambassador for their proper reception, and that it should be in accordance with that which he had received, and giving an account of the capitulations. The Governor of Manila, then busy with other concerns, paid no attention to this captain, nor to those who accompanied him; their treatment was abominable, and for their despatches they were obliged to the house assigned, at which they were vexed. They went to that of General Carrasco, from whence, by means of interference with the governor and good offices, they were able to depart for their country. After they had sailed, the governor despatched an adjutant, whom the Siamese would not allow to approach their shores: the hope only remained to them that they would return to this city, and commerce be continued, from the letters that General Carrasco wrote to the prince

and prime minister, sending them and despatching them his commissions. They returned grumbling to their country; and the result was the same with the King and princes. The Spaniards had lost their credit with that nation, those who had been so ill-treated hating the nations of Europe and their mean friendships. One would not know to what so strange a change in an important engagement could be attributed, if there were not, indeed, some later information to the discredit of the marshal.

The history of this unfortunate adventure occupies nearly seventy pages of the *Chronicles of the Philippines* (vol. xiv.). The thirty thousand dollars advanced by the shareholders were wholly lost. The total expenditure exceeded ninety thousand dollars. The final account states that fifteen thousand dollars were due to the King of Siam and a Spaniard (who was probably the agent at the Siamese Court); that six thousand five hundred dollars were to be claimed from the shareholders, and that there was still a balance due by the Company of nine thousand five hundred dollars. But they had to console themselves with the honourable reception of their envoy to Siam, of which I translate the following account:—

"The Barcalan (Phra Klang) and mandarins having been informed of his (the envoy's) arrival, they requested to be told, according to the custom of the kingdom, whether he was bringing presents for their King. It was necessary to answer that he was, and the deputy offered a quantity of siguéy (?) and other

curious things, worth a thousand dollars in all. The King, who also knew of his arrival, immediately despatched several mandarins, strictly charging them that, after having complimented him, and offered his (the King's) royal protection, they should use such industry as would tend to the discovery of his designs. The messengers acted accordingly, artfully sounding the mind of our commandant with such skill that even his secret thoughts became transparent; but the envoy explained on all points, and on each one in particular the true motives of his coming: on being informed of which, the King laid aside the suspicions that the concerns and affairs of foreign Courts always occasioned him; he signified how much he desired to cultivate a sincere correspondence with the Spanish nation, and ordered a splendid reception, with the assistance of his chief council, which consisted of twenty-four grandees of the Court, and that of innumerable others of the second and third classes. He designed for the conveyance of letters and presents beautiful and graceful ships, of a single piece of wood, and of an incredible size, tastefully ornamented and gilded in relief, each pulled by seventy or eighty rowers, with skill, order, and swiftness, in nothing inferior to those of Europe. He arranged also that some of his most respectable ministers should accompany him on all those great ceremonies which an expensive policy dictates.

"With this magnificent pomp, he was conducted by the river to the Royal Palace, using to land the

presents and letters a frame of exquisite sculpture, which four mandarins carried on their shoulders, with parasols of crimson damask. From the entrance of the palace it was placed under the direction of one of the highest grandees, to whose rank it belonged to conduct the ministers and foreign subjects through the interior parts to the place prescribed for them. He conducted him with the usual ceremonies to a beautiful and capacious court, in which were displayed in perfect order two rows of enormous elephants, with costly and brilliant trappings of gold and jewellery, which, by their robust corpulence, and by the silent gravity with which they skilfully managed their bulky trunks, filled all with profound admiration and respect. Two files of shining infantry followed, armed with swords, lances, shields, and guns: passing through the midst, they led him into a spacious saloon, covered and ornamented with Persian carpets, with large and beautiful mirrors, and with some exquisite lustres. Here awaited him, in the form of a senate, a noble assembly of the most distinguished mandarins, and of some others of an inferior class, seated away from the carpets, without shoes; each and all displaying the blazonry and ornaments that the Monarch had granted them according to their merits and rank; who, with mysterious presumption and affected gravity, made so strange a stage respectable, pretending to make the foreign ministers admitted to their audiences strictly observe the Court ceremonial of entering without shoes, slippers, sword,

stick, or hat, and not placing themselves on any other seat than one raised from the ground by a single finger's breadth.

"Our deputy considered it a slight, and little suiting the Spanish dignity, to comply with these absurd formalities, which might tend to the lowering of his character, and the idea of his being the representative minister of the most august monarch in the world; wherefore he informed them that, not being received with attentions suitable to the high rank with which the Governor of the Philippines had invested him, he would suspend his commission and return to Manila without any other answer. The King yielded to his representations, and exempted him from a number of ceremonies, allowing him to enter with all his adornments, and to have two cushions for his seat. With so magnificent and rare a permission, he was admitted to a public audience; he saluted the whole assembly at once in the European mode, and they politely responded in that of their country. He took his seat on the two cushions, and the assembly placed themselves in an attitude of expectation; and he joined them in that attendant posture, until, at a signal, appeared a majestic and elevated throne, and on it the prime minister, at whose feet danced some damsels, naked from the waist upward, and at his back others shook the air with beautiful fans. The assembly prostrated themselves at the first movement; the deputy stood up serenely and without embarrassment, surveying a spectacle so new to him; he saluted the minister with most polished courtesy, after the

Spanish fashion. The minister willingly received his obeisance, and in token of his complaisance commanded him to bring his cushions nearer; he accepted the courtesy with precision, and having again pleasantly saluted him, he asked him, on the part of his King, if the Catholic monarchs were in perfect health—if their majesties were advanced in years —if they had a numerous and happy issue? The deputy replied in becoming terms, according to the last advices from Europe; concluding by saying that the happy and numerous issue was the object of the ardent and unceasing prayers of their most faithful vassals; that Divine Providence delayed it in order to make it the more happy; that he hoped the unceasing supplications of the nation would be favourably heard, preserving the lives of both their Majesties, that their royal house might reign uninterruptedly through a long course of years in the succession of princes who should be the delights of the Crown. The emotion that the minister plainly showed at this intelligence was remarkable; he remained sorrowfully silent for a while, and then resumed his former affability. He inquired for the health of the most illustrious governor, and the deputy replied that he enjoyed excellent health and happiness; and the deputy took leave of the assembly with much courtesy.

"After some days, they inquired of him the ages and the time when our Catholic Sovereigns were married. The Deputy satisfied him in writing; and with this ceremony, which is the most binding in the kingdom, they made an end of the necessary forma-

lities and compliments which they practise with the ambassadors of foreign powers. The time afforded an opportunity for representing his commission to the prime minister in public audience: he heard it with pleasure, promising, in the name of the King, that nothing should be omitted which could contribute to the prompt execution of his desires, and that on his part he would assist to the utmost extent of his power in promoting his interests. The deputy imagined that this very favourable reply was given rather from an apparent generosity, by which they try to increase the fame of their public audiences, than from a mind well disposed to favour petitions; since it is the greatest policy of the kingdom to deny nothing to strangers in their tribunals: they inquire secretly into their pretensions, and if they find any inconvenience in the commission, they invent means of dismissing them without their being able to see the minister, the sole mover of all the expedients that are employed in the Court."

V.—*Mr. Crawfurd's Mission*, 1822.

Mr. Crawfurd's account of his Mission was published in a quarto volume,* in 1828, and has since been reprinted in a cheaper and more accessible form. This interesting work is so generally known and so easily obtained, that I have some scruples in

* *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China; exhibiting a view of the actual state of those Kingdoms.* By John Crawfurd, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., late Envoy. London: Colburn, 1828.

largely appropriating its entertaining and instructive pages: but I shall venture, before I conclude, to give a few passages illustrative of Siamese character, and which, at the same time, will serve to show that the present state of matters in Siam presents many an element of hope which did not belong to the period of Mr. Crawfurd's visit. Though my course was not unattended with difficulties and embarrassments, they were much less than those with which my predecessors had to struggle, and many circumstances independent of me, or any influence or action of mine, contributed to my success which were wanting to the earlier efforts made for the extension of our amicable relations with Siam.

The reception of Mr. Crawfurd's embassy was in no respect flattering. On arrival at Paknam, on the 26th March, 1822, "we could not," says Mr. Finlayson, "fail to remark that the different personages who had as yet visited us were either of very low rank, or of none at all."* The person of "some rank" who had been announced did not appear. One of the King's boats, with small accommodations, was sent down, on the 27th March, to convey Mr. Crawfurd to Bangkok. The people were everywhere civil; and on the 28th, the *John Adam*, which had brought the Mission to Siam, was allowed to proceed up the river to the capital. On the 29th, the letter from the Governor-General was delivered to an officer appointed by the Phra Klang to receive it. On the 30th, a habitation was provided for the British envoy, a miserable place, an out-

* Finlayson's *Mission to Siam and Hué*, p. 104.

house, with four small, ill-ventilated rooms, approached through a trap-door from below, and on three sides almost entirely excluded from fresh air.* A Malay of low rank was, for some time, the only channel of intercourse. He came and demanded the presents for the King. In the urgency to obtain and frequency of the demands of the Court for the gifts, there was "a degree of meanness and avidity at once disgusting and disgraceful. For several successive days, there was no end to their importunities."†

Wishing to go up the river, the Mission learnt they were to be prisoners, and restricted from intercourse with the people till the ceremony of introduction should be over. The day fixed on for the introduction was postponed for another week. The conduct of the Court exhibited a marked neglect, attributable to design, and in no degree to ignorance.

I shall give at length a portion of Mr. Finlayson's‡ narrative. The manner in which Mr. Crawfurd was received, and the impression left upon his mind, are in many respects strongly contrasted with the welcome that awaited me, and the conclusions I felt able to draw.

"In the evening, a message was brought by the

* Finlayson, p. 119. † *Ib.*, p. 123.

‡ Mr. George Finlayson accompanied Mr. Crawfurd as surgeon and naturalist. Sir Stamford Raffles wrote an interesting memoir of the author, which was attached to the account of *The Mission to Siam and Hué*, from Mr. Finlayson's Journal (Murray, 1826). He left with very unfavourable impressions of the results of the Mission. "It does not appear likely," he says, "that it will effect anything for the benefit of our commerce." (P. xvi.) "It were useless to say through what causes our Mission has failed. . . . . I cannot say that we have gained much by negotiation." (P. xvii.)

Malay, to say that the minister would be glad to see Mr. Crawfurd. Accompanied by Captain Dangerfield, he accordingly made him a visit. He received them in a large and lofty hall, open on one side, spread with carpets, and hung with glass lights and Chinese lanterns. They took their seats on carpets spread for the purpose, and were entertained with tea, fruit, and Chinese preserves. It would appear that the conversation was of a general nature, and rather formal. They were well pleased with the attention of the chief, and spoke favourably of their reception. He offered to make what alterations were deemed necessary to fit the house for our convenience,—an offer which he subsequently bore little in remembrance. The servility which the attendants of this man observed towards him appears to have been quite disgusting, and altogether degrading to humanity. During the whole of the visit, they lay prostrate on the earth before him, and at a distance. When addressed, they did not dare to cast their eyes towards him, but, raising the head a little, and touching the forehead with both hands united, in the manner by which we would express the most earnest supplication, their looks still directed to the ground, they whispered an answer in the most humiliating tone. The manner in which he was approached by the servants of his household was even still more revolting to nature. When refreshments were ordered, they crawled forward on all-fours, supported on the elbows and toes, the body being dragged on the ground. In this manner they pushed the dishes before them from time to time, in the best manner

that their constrained and beast-like attitude would admit, until they had put them into their place, when they retreated backwards in the same grovelling manner, but without turning round.

"How abominable! how revolting this assumption of despotic power, that would vainly assimilate a weak and frail mortal to the Deity, and that could trample under its feet not only the body, degrading it to the condition of the brute beasts of the field, but even the mind of man, and render servility perpetual!

"Yet this haughty chief was himself but a minister of the fifth order in importance, doomed to take his turn of beast-like grovelling, as was subsequently exhibited in visiting Chromachit, son to the King. Every man here is doomed to crawl on the earth before his superior. The nation must be considered as entirely the slaves of the King, of whose lives, as well as property, he can dispose at will.

> Masters' commands come with a power resistless
> To such as owe them absolute subjection.

"A few days after this, Mr. Crawfurd, accompanied by Lieutenant Rutherfurd, visited the Prince Chromachit, an illegitimate son of the reigning King. The hour appointed was about eight o'clock in the morning.

"He was seated in the middle of a spacious hall, ornamented chiefly in the Chinese style. Common looking-glasses, Dutch glass, shades, lamps, and Chinese lanterns adorned the walls, and were suspended from the ceiling. The prince received them

sitting, and, on their entrance, pointed to carpets placed at a distance for the visitors to sit upon. Like most other Siamese men of rank, the prince is uncommonly stout, and rather bloated with fat. His form is unwieldy and coarse, his manner grave and unbending, and his general appearance that of being much older than he really is. The conversation, as reported by Mr. Rutherford, turned upon the usual topics of public visits at Asiatic courts; such as the length of our voyage, the age of the visitors, their ordinary employments, the health of the Governor-General of India, the state of England, and so forth. After some time, boxes containing betel and tobacco sprouts were offered; and afterwards sweetmeats in profusion were introduced.

"It is always the custom at this Court to visit the prince previously to visiting the King. Almost all matters of government, in whatever department, are in the hands of this prince, who is considered to have shown genius and talent equal to the great charge with which he is entrusted. All matters relating to peace or war, to foreign intercourse or to domestic regulations—to affairs of religion, of policy, or of justice, are equally at his disposal, and rarely referred to the King, but for the purpose of gaining his final consent. The inferior agents of Government are entirely under his control, and have no power to do anything of themselves without first obtaining his opinion; for which purpose they generally wait upon him twice a day. He at this interview, as did the King afterwards on the occasion of our introduction to him, signified that Suri Wong Montree, the chief

who had accommodated the party with a house, would make known to him the objects of their mission, and, at the same time, expressed their authoritative expectation that this chief was attentive to our wants.

"The submission of the attendants was on this occasion even more marked than that observed towards Suri Wong, who was himself now amongst the number strewed on the ground in humble obeisance towards their prince. The latter conversed through the medium of the Malay, or rather Moorman, by which name I shall call him in future, who was on this occasion assisted by another personage of the same description, who spoke the Hindustani with tolerable accuracy. The two Malay interpreters of the agent of the Governor-General were not permitted to be present.

"It is customary amongst the Siamese to send home after the visitors the sweetmeats which had been brought forward during the visit, as it is also to place on the floor before them the presents they had made. This was done by Suri Wong, and by this prince; and again was this ceremony observed when we were introduced to the King, though in the latter case the most insignificant only of the presents from the Governor-General of Bengal were introduced, and these were so laid out as to make the least possible display.

"Numerous were the proposals, and more numerous the reports, brought from day to day respecting the ceremonies to be performed by us on being presented at Court. Many conferences had taken place be-

tween Mr. Crawfurd and the Moorman on the important topic, and matters were referred by the latter to the chief, Suri Wong. What the nature of those conferences was I am altogether ignorant, not having been present at them; and, indeed, as I do not understand Malayan, the language in which they were carried on, my presence was the less necessary. It was to be feared, however, that the cunning Moorman would exert every means in his power, and leave nothing untried to induce compliance, on the part of the agent of the Governor-General, with all the ceremonies prescribed by the Siamese Court, of whose moderation, in matters of this nature, we might in some degree judge by the haughty demeanour of the few chiefs we had yet seen. It was, therefore, alike the interest, as it was the undisguised intention, of the Moorman to claim merit with his employers in proportion to his success in the present matter. He commenced by introducing the question in the most artful and clever manner, boldly asserting that a report had gone abroad to the effect that the public envoy of the Government of Bengal meant to act in a disrespectful manner towards the King of Siam,—that it was his intention, throwing his arms impudently behind his back, to stand before the King, without showing any mark of respect whatever. Mr. Crawfurd replied that, so far from this being the case, he had come to do honour to the King of Siam before his subjects, and then mentioned what ceremonies he was willing to perform. With this assurance the Moorman was said to have gone away contented.

"Another matter which appears to have created much discussion and frequent reference, regarded the manner in which the members of the Mission should proceed to the place of audience. It was first proposed that, after proceeding to the usual landing-place in boats, they should thence continue on foot to the audience-hall. This proposal was given up for that of going on horseback; and this last, finally, to that of being carried in palanquins.

"Matters were at length settled, and we were given to understand that we were to proceed to the palace at an early hour on the following day.

"I accompanied Mr. Crawfurd on an early visit to the Barkalan, Suri Wong Montree. On this occasion he was seated on a piece of red carpet, and leaned on a velvet cushion: he rose up as we entered, and pointed to a mattress, covered with chintz, placed near to the door, for us to sit on. His manner appeared to me to be stiff, haughty, assuming, and altogether without dignity to support it. The conversation between him and Mr. Crawfurd lasted nearly half an hour, and turned chiefly on commercial matters. He stated that the country could furnish annually fifty thousand peculs of sugar, and thirty thousand of pepper. He appeared to have greatly exaggerated the annual produce in benzoin, and observed that the forests could supply sapan-wood in any quantity. He desired to know if the Siamese would be permitted to purchase arms in our ports in India.

"When we returned on board, Captain Dangerfield remained behind, after breakfast, for the purpose of

being informed respecting the nature of the ceremonies to be performed by us on the following day in the royal presence.' In the course of the day, we received a note from Captain D., stating that Mr. Crawfurd wished to see us on shore on a matter of duty. We found that there existed a difference of opinion on the subject in question. . . . .

"This was the first we had heard of the matter in a serious way. We had often, in a jocular manner, talked on the subject, but, as has been observed, we were yet ignorant of what was expected of us. Immediately thereafter, however, the nature of the intended salutations was pointed out to us, differing, certainly, very materially from what we had anticipated, and from what Mr. C. had pointed out on a former evening as that which we were to perform. The mode of salutation, in its present shape, admitted of little objection; and accordingly, after a very few remarks, we agreed to the performance of it. We were to take off our shoes at the door of the hall of audience; when we had entered, we were to take off our hats, and making a bow in the English manner, we were to advance to the seats appointed for us, and there sitting down, with the legs bent backwards and under us, but a little to one side, we were to make three salutations with the hands united before the face, touching the forehead each time. The union of the hands in this manner appearing to be expressive of supplication, and being used as the sign thereof by many Asiatics, Captain Dangerfield proposed that in its stead we should salute in the manner done at some of the Hindu Courts, by per-

forming the salam with both hands, raising them separately to the head at the same time It was observed that the difference was very immaterial, and that, therefore, the Siamese mode should be preferred: besides, it appeared that the members of the Mission might perform the salutation with more or less correctness as they judged proper, and that it would be deemed enough if they touched the forehead with the hands in any way.

"April 8.—It had been communicated to us that the ceremonies of the day would commence at an early hour: accordingly, about seven A.M. we were in attendance on the agent of the Governor-General. At eight o'clock, two boats, a large and a small one, shaped like canoes, and turned up at the bow and stern, had come for the purpose of taking us to the palace. The larger had, I think, thirteen paddles, and a man to steer it: it was without ornament of any sort, plain but neat, with a boarded space in the centre, over which was erected a sort of matted roof. A piece of old carpet, and a small but old velvet cushion, were placed upon this boarded space. The rowers in this boat were dressed in caps and loose jackets made of coarse red cloth. The other boat was of small dimensions, but also provided with a seat in the centre, and a cover similar to that of the former.

"In this there were stationed only five or six rowers, none of whom appeared to be Siamese: their appearance was very wretched and mean; they had scarce a rag of clothes of any description, and consisted of boys and decrepit old men. The guard of Sepoys, amounting to thirty in number, were placed

in the ship's long-boat, and preceded us to the landing-place near to the palace, where they waited the arrival of the British agent.

"The Barkalan, Suri Wong Montree, set out at a very early hour, dressed in his robes of ceremony for the occasion.

"The Moorman, Khochai-Sahac, was in attendance to conduct the Mission to the palace, and, when the boats were ready, gave intimation that it was time to proceed. The smaller boat was occupied by the servants and followers of the Mission, while the agent to the Governor-General, accompanied by the gentlemen of his suite, entered the larger. In this we found two Portuguese who had been born in the country, one of them a respectable-looking man: they were apparently sent to act as interpreters by the way. The more respectable-looking of the two, seeing that I spoke the Portuguese language very imperfectly, to my great surprise addressed me in the Latin language. The purity of his phraseology excited my surprise still more; it was vastly superior to the monkish jargon spoken by certain orders of the clergy in some parts of the Continent of Europe: yet this man had received his education in Siam, in the Catholic seminary of this place. I concluded that he was of the clerical order, but in this I was mistaken.

"Our boats, accompanied by a small one which conveyed the Moorman, proceeded towards the palace at a moderate rate. Our presence seemed to excite but little attention on the part of the inhabitants of the floating houses which line the banks of the river, occupied almost exclusively by the Chinese, or on

the part of those on board the junks, or those passing and re-passing on the river. Some were observed to laugh immoderately, whilst others covered the face to conceal mirth which might be considered as rude. A few minutes brought us to the landing-place, within a few paces of the outermost wall of the palace. The Sepoys had arrived here before us, and now disembarked and drew up in a line on the road. The boat which conveyed the servants, being very indifferently supplied with rowers, was still far behind, so that we had to wait in our boat till their arrival. The place we landed at was dirty, inconvenient, and lumbered with wood and small canoes; it might have been taken for the entrance into a wood-merchant's yard, than many of which this was less clean and convenient. As great a crowd of people, almost entirely males, as could be collected together in so small a space, was here assembled, and viewed us with much, but I cannot say with respectful, curiosity. The gate and wall of the palace were lofty, but mean-looking and in bad taste; neither were the three other gates and inner walls that we passed remarkable for the opposite qualities, not even for labour in their construction or strength in the design.

"Our servants having arrived, we landed, and the palanquins intended for our conveyance were produced. Without our being aware of it, they had come along with us in the boat; a circumstance which will excite but little surprise, when it is known that these palanquins consisted merely of a netting, in the exact shape of a sailor's *hammock*, suspended from a

pole. A small piece of carpet was spread in the centre, and each vehicle was carried on the shoulders of two men, one at each end of the pole. We at first experienced a little difficulty in preventing ourselves from rolling out of this contrivance, and our awkward attempts to do so seemed to afford great amusement to the spectators, who kept shouting aloud until we were within the gate.

"We took possession of our vehicles in the order of our respective ranks, the agent to the Governor-General proceeding first. In this manner, accompanied by our Sepoys, the procession passed to an inner gate, distant from the first about one hundred and fifty yards: the road was dirty, and here and there coarsely paved. At this gate we were detained for a few minutes, when it was thrown open. Here we were directed to leave the vehicles and proceed on foot; we were at the same time directed to throw off our swords, and to leave the Sepoys here. We had now entered a spacious and open court of great extent, with various ranges of large tiled buildings, disposed in tolerable order, and traversed by roads paved with coarse-grained granite, disposed in right lines.

"It deserves to be remarked that, at the gate last mentioned, the Moorman Khochai-Sahac was joined by another man of the same caste. These, as well as other Moormen whom we saw on the present occasion, were dressed in long loose gowns and turbans, ornamented with gold-leaf or tinsel. The two Moormen proceeding in front, and a crowd of spectators on either side, we walked to the distance of about one hundred yards on a paved road, when, turning a

short way to the right, we were shown into a large open building of mean appearance, and not particularly clean. We had as yet seen no guards or armed persons, and no one on duty except the people at the last gate. In front of the building we had now entered, about six or eight elephants had been drawn up at regular distances, each surmounted by two men in quaint costume.

"In this room was placed a small platform, raised about a foot from the ground, covered with a coarse white cloth; and, close by, a large old carpet was spread, on which we were desired to seat ourselves. Betel and tobacco sprouts were introduced on coarse brass dishes; and a like attention was paid to our servants, who sat on the opposite side of the room. The place was soon crowded with a multitude of low people, some of whom were resting on their knees, and others standing; and all of them were very noisy, insomuch that now and then it was deemed necessary to coerce with the rod. The profuse and unsparing liberality with which it was applied seemed to argue the great utility as well as the frequent use of this sort of argument, and we never observed it to fail in procuring a temporary silence. After we had waited somewhat less than half an hour, it was notified by two men, dressed in an upper garment of white cloth in the fashion of a wide shirt, with a narrow slip of coarse lace about the middle of the arm, and another at its extremity, that we were called for. These men appeared to me to belong to the police department; and afterwards, when they accompanied us to see the elephants and other objects, they occa-

sionally applied the rod with laudable vigour to maintain order amongst the rabble. Without addressing themselves to the agent of the Governor-General, they now delivered their message to the Moormen. The latter proposed that we should here pull off our shoes, and walk the remainder of the way without them. This, however, was overruled, and we again turned into the road which we had left on entering. A line of men armed with muskets was drawn up on each side of the road, and extended to the next gate. Nothing could be more ridiculous or more unsoldierlike than the appearance of this guard, composed of puny boys scarce able to stand under a musket, and of men of all ages: in their caps only was anything like uniformity observable. These were all painted red, and I cannot give a better idea of them than by saying that they exactly resembled the slouched helmets once worn by the workers of fire-engines at home. They scarcely had boldness to look us in the face as we passed; and among the whole number, which perhaps might amount to one hundred, we did not observe a single flint, nor possibly a serviceable musket. Some had bayonets with scabbards on their muskets, and others scabbards without bayonets. With these muskets, awkwardly and slovenly shouldered, some on one side and some on the other, we passed them without exciting sufficient interest to obtain the least notice.

"When we had arrived at the gate in front, we were again desired to pull off our shoes. Our servants and followers were permitted to advance no further; and even the interpreters to the agent of

the Governor-General were not allowed to proceed. Leaving our shoes at this place, we advanced, on a paved road, through a passage about fifty yards in length, enclosed by a wall on each side, until we came to another, and the innermost gate. This also opened into a spacious oblong place, in which were disposed several lofty and handsome buildings, occupied by the King, or appropriated to particular offices. This space was also intersected by coarsely-paved roads, no way remarkable for cleanliness, breadth, or beauty. Facing the gate at which we last entered, there was drawn up a double line of musicians, one on each side of the road through which we advanced. A shrill pipe and numerous tom-toms were the only instruments whose sounds we heard; though we observed a number of men furnished with horns, trumpets, chanks, &c. The music, though rude, was not inharmonious or displeasing to the ear; and the interrupted beat, uniform regularity, and softness of the tom-toms was even agreeable. On our right, a numerous body of men, armed with stout black glazed shields and battle-axes, were disposed in several close lines within a railing, resting on their knees, and almost concealed by their shields: behind these were placed a few elephants, furnished with scanty but rather elegant housings. Still preceded by the Moormen, we advanced slowly through the musicians' to the distance of nearly thirty yards from the last gate, when, making a short turn to the right, we entered a plain-looking building at one end, and soon found that this was the hall of audience. Fronting the

door, and concealing the whole of the interior apartment, there was placed a Chinese screen, covered with landscapes and small panes of looking-glass. We halted for a moment on the threshold, and, taking two or three steps to the right so as to get round the screen, we found ourselves suddenly, and somewhat unexpectedly, in the presence of majesty. A more curious, more extraordinary, or more impressive sight has, perhaps, rarely been witnessed than that on which we now gazed with mingled feelings of regret (I should say of indignation) and of wonder;—of wonder excited by the display of taste, elegance, and richness in the decorations; of regret or of indignation caused by the debased condition of a whole nation. Such a scene was well calculated to take a firm hold on the imagination. I shall, however, endeavour to describe it in its true colours, and with the least possible aid from that faculty. The hall was lofty, wide, and well-aired, and appeared to be about sixty or eighty feet in length, and of proportionate breadth. The ceiling and walls were painted in various colours, chiefly in the form of wreaths and festoons; the roof was supported by wooden pillars, ten on each side, painted spirally red and dark green. Some small and rather paltry mirrors were disposed on the walls, glass lustres and wall shades were hung in the centre; and to the middle of each pillar was attached a lantern, not much better than our stable lanterns. The floor was covered with carpets of different colours. The doors and windows were in sufficient numbers, but small and without ornament. At the further ex-

tremity of the hall, a large, handsome curtain, made of cloth, covered with tinsel or gold-leaf, and suspended by a cord, divided the space occupied by the throne from the rest of the apartment. On each side of this curtain there were placed five or six singular but handsome ornaments, called *chatt*, consisting of a series of small circular tables, suspended over each other, diminishing gradually so as to form a cone, and having a fringe of rich cloth of gold, or tissue, suspended from each tablet.

"A few of the presents from the Governor-General, as bales of cloth and cut-glass, were placed nearly in the middle of the room and on one side; but we neither remarked the letter from the noble Marquis, nor did it appear that any notice whatever was taken of it on this public occasion.

"With the exception of a space of about twenty feet square in front of the throne which was kept clear, the hall was crowded with people to excess. Those of every rank, from the highest to the lowest—from the heir-apparent to the throne, to the meanest slave present—had his proper place assigned to him, by which alone he was to be distinguished. The costume of all ranks was plain—neither rich nor showy.

"The curtain placed before the throne was drawn aside as we entered. The whole multitude present lay prostrate on the earth, their mouths almost touching the ground: not a body or limb was observed to move; not an eye was directed towards us; not a whisper agitated the solemn and still air. It was the attitude, the silence, the solemnity of a

multitude simultaneously addressing the great God of the universe, rather than the homage of even an enslaved people. Not even Rome, fertile in a race of tyrants, nor Dionysius himself, ever produced any degradation to compare with this in ignominy.

"Raised about twelve feet above the floor, and about two yards behind the curtain alluded to, there was an arched niche, on which an obscure light was cast, of sufficient size to display the human body to effect, in the sitting posture. In this niche was placed the throne, projecting from the wall a few feet. Here, on our entrance, the King sat immoveable as a statue, his eyes directed forwards. He resembled, in every respect, an image of Buddha placed upon his throne; while the solemnity of the scene, and the attitude of devotion observed by the multitude, left little room to doubt that the temple had been the source from which the monarch of Siam had borrowed the display of regal pomp. He was dressed in a close jacket of gold tissue; on his left was placed what appeared to be a sceptre; but he wore neither crown nor other covering on the head, nor was the former emblem of the office of royalty displayed on the occasion. The throne was hung round with the same sort of cloth which formed the curtain in front, and behind it were placed two of the conical-shaped ornaments formerly mentioned. Except in the quality of the cloth with which the throne was surrounded, we could observe no indication of opulence or of magnificence. There were neither jewels, nor costly workmanship, nor precious stones, nor pearls, nor gold, observable about the person of the King, his

throne, or his ministers. The latter were disposed in three lines laterally, extending from the curtain in front; and thus bounded on each side the empty space at the foot of the throne, according to their respective ranks. The chief Suriwong was placed at a very respectful distance. A considerable degree of light was thrown laterally on the floor at the base of the throne, where large and elegant fans were waved by persons placed behind the curtain. This circumstance added considerable effect to the scene.

"Such is a sketch of the form and appearance of Siamese royalty, displayed on our entering the hall. When we had passed the screen, and came in sight of the throne, we pulled off our hats and bowed in the European manner, the two Moormen at the same time falling prostrate, and crawling before us on the ground towards the throne. We were desired to advance in a stooping posture. A narrow space, about three feet in width, was left open in the centre for us to advance through. When we had advanced a few paces in this narrow space, being closely surrounded by the crowd of people, and distant from the throne more than half the length of the hall, all the ministers being a considerable way in front of us on either side, we were desired to seat ourselves on the carpet, in the narrow lane or space through which we had advanced, which we did in the best way we could, the two Moormen placing themselves immediately in front of the agent to the Governor-General and his assistant, for the space would only admit of two persons sitting beside each other. Mr. R. and I, therefore, placed ourselves immediately

behind the former. We now performed the salutations agreed upon; after which a voice from behind the curtain in front of the throne interrupted the silence which had hitherto prevailed, by reading, in a loud tone, a list of the presents which had been sent by the Governor-General.

"The King now addressed some questions to the agent of the Governor-General. He spoke in a firm, though not a loud, voice. In his person he was remarkably stout, but apparently not bloated or unwieldy: he appeared to be about sixty-five years of age. The questions were repeated by the person who had read the list of presents, and from him they were conveyed in whispers by several individuals, till they reached the Moorman, Kochai-Sahac, who, prostrate, like the rest, on the ground, whispered them to the agent of the Governor-General, in a tone which I could not hear, though placed immediately behind the latter. The answers to the throne were passed on in the same way. From the tenor of the questions as related afterwards by Captain Dangerfield, it would appear that they were of a very general nature, and not particularly interesting. While these questions were passing, betel was introduced in handsome silver vessels and gold cups. The audience having lasted about twenty minutes, the King rose from his seat, and, turning round to depart, the curtain was immediately drawn in front of the throne. On this all the people raised a loud shout, and, turning on their knees, performed various salutations, touching the earth and their forehead alternately, with both hands united. The princes

and ministers now assumed a sitting posture, by which, for the first time, we were enabled to observe their respective places. We left the hall of audience without further ceremony. A heavy shower of rain had fallen during the interview, and the roads leading to the different parts of the palace, at no time noted for cleanliness, were now covered with water, and converted into a dirty puddle; we therefore requested to have our shoes, but in vain, for no notice whatever was taken of our request. On leaving the door of the audience-hall, a paltry Chinese umbrella, which might be purchased in the bazaar for a rupee, was given to each of us. Not knowing with what view it was presented, I was about to reject it, when I was told that it was meant as a present from the King.

"The Moormen, and the two men who had conducted us to the audience-hall, now conducted us through the different courts of the palace. We were still followed by a dirty, mean-looking rabble, whose impudent behaviour was from time to time checked by the two policemen, our guides. The streets were remarkably dirty, so that, for the greater part of the way, we had to walk up to the ankle in mud and water. However, no offer was made to procure us our shoes, until we had gone through the whole ceremony of seeing the strange sights of this palace; a tedious and not very gratifying ceremony, which occupied us nearly two hours. The sun had, after the shower, shone out with intense power; the stones over which we passed had in consequence been rendered very hot, and the alternate passing from these

stones into the wet and puddles rendered the promenade not altogether agreeable to persons unaccustomed to walk barefooted."

The following brief account of Mr. Crawfurd's Mission is given in the *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*:—

"On the 25th (March, 1822), having received a pilot from Paknam, a considerable fishing village at the mouth of the Menam, the ship crossed the bar, after remaining a short period aground on the long mud flat between the hard sandy bar and the actual entrance of the river, till the reflux of the tide enabled her again to proceed.

"On the 28th, having received permission from the Court, the Mission proceeded in the *John Adam* towards the capital, which it reached early next day; and on the 1st April, Mr. Crawfurd landed, and occupied a long tiled building prepared for his reception, in front of the residence of the Praklang, or acting minister for foreign trade; a similar one, for the reception of his suite, not being completed till several days after.

"On the 8th, the necessary arrangements having been discussed, the envoy and suite had their public audience of the King. They were received in a large but meanly-decorated hall of audience. The scene was at once imposing, singular, and humiliating. The King occupied a recess, faced by a species of gilded balcony, raised about ten or twelve feet from the ground at the extremity of the hall, a portion of which was divided across by a high gold curtain, withdrawn, at his entrance, at a signal

accompanied by a flourish of trumpets and shouts of the multitude without. Excepting a narrow passage left along its centre for the passage of the envoy and suite, the whole pavement of the hall was covered by a prostrate multitude, their heads silently bowed to the earth in the direction of the throne, and their hands alone raised, clasped in the attitude of devotion above their heads. It was more the silent awe and admiration to a present deity than the respect attached to an earthly ruler; and the King, but slightly and meanly habited, seated above the crowd, seemed more like an inanimate figure of Boodh than an intelligent being of the same nature as the degraded mortals beneath. The King was dressed in a plain, close garment of gold kincob, and wore nothing on his head. On his left was placed, in a reclining posture, a small golden ruler, somewhat resembling (and, doubtless, of similar import as) a sceptre. Below the balcony was a raised ornamented seat, resembling a throne, and on each side were prostrate men waving large hand-fans None of the Court, excepting the princes of the blood, were admitted behind the curtain; and the part nearest to it was occupied by the nobles, according to their rank, each having placed in front of him a golden cup and betel boxes, usually presented to them by the King on their nomination to office. On the right side of this quarter of the hall were displayed the presents to his Majesty from the Governor-General. The entrance to the hall was concealed by an ornamented China screen; and the members of the Court, whose duty it was to introduce the Mission, before passing this,

threw themselves on all-fours on the ground; and then, slowly moving in pairs on hands and knees, proceeded, and ushered in the envoy and suite; and having arrived at the part assigned for the reception of the latter, and made the usual prostrations, they assumed the same attitude of silent devotion with those around. The envoy and suite being seated, the audience commenced by a loud reading of the list of the presents. This being finished, after a short silence the King, in a strong and oracular voice, proposed a few unimportant questions to the envoy, which were repeated in a whisper by the intervening range of interpreters, till at length communicated, in an equally low tone, to the envoy; and his answers being received, were conveyed in the same way to the throne. After another short silence, a signal, resembling in sound large castanets, accompanied by a flourish of trumpets and shouts, announced the close of the audience; and the golden curtain being rapidly drawn, the King retired, and the whole Court sat up and commenced smoking their small cigars, and departed without ceremony as they wished. The gentlemen were then requested to view the King's riding elephants, the white elephants, and white monkeys; as also the royal temple, and sacred library near it, in which are deposited, it is asserted, many splendid and valuable manuscripts.

"Nothing particularly superior was remarked in the forms, and the stature was rather low, of the white or the common elephants. The former, as well as the monkeys, both in form and eyes, bore the distinctive colours and appearance of that variety of the human

race termed Albinos. The white elephants were highly ornamented, fastened with silver chains, and had their umbrellas arranged on each side of the road: a few spearmen were also present.

"The same abject respect to rank as that already described is diffused through every rank of society, and is carried even into domestic life. The house menial does not move in the presence of his master or superior but on hands and knees; and when required to place anything before him, can only do so by shoving along the floor, and following it in that attitude. From this even women are not exempt.

"The most singular feature, perhaps, in the present state of Siam, is its comparative tranquillity, with its internal and external weakness: for, excepting a conspiracy, laid to the charge of the talapoins or priests, a short time previous to the arrival of the Mission, which aimed at the life of the King, but was timely detected, this monarch may be said to have enjoyed a long and tranquil reign. Surrounded on all sides by either professed enemies or distant tributaries, with a Court abject, ignorant, and seeking each his own individual interest, which, as merchants, must ever be opposed to that of the King, accident alone can have favoured so despotic and nerveless a government. But such a combination of circumstances has had a most baneful influence on the character, condition, and manners of the people."* . . . .

"The various obstacles which had thus long detained the Mission in Siam having been surmounted,

* Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, p. [illegible]—6.

the envoy and suite embarked on the evening of the 14th July, 1822, reached Paknam on the 18th, but did not finally get over the bar till the 20th, having with great labour warped over the long mud-flat off the mouth of the river, and being aground every tide. On the 25th they finally sailed towards some islands a short distance off, on the eastern side of the bay, in order to take in ballast, wood, and water, readily afforded (as well as fine anchorage), at the largest of them, called Sichang. This island consists chiefly of a range of hills, the highest part being about one thousand feet elevated above the sea, consisting of a granite base, with superimposed limestone and quartz rock. In the limestone rock on the north-west quarter were caves containing many of the swallows' and edible birds' nests."*

The impertinent, intrusive curiosity of subordinate officers, and the rapacity exhibited by almost every functionary who approached him, Mr. Crawfurd found exceedingly troublesome: but from such annoyance we were almost wholly exempt. The simple fact that I bore my credentials directly from my Sovereign, and that I was accredited directly to the King, sufficed to place me at once in a position not to be intruded on.

It was my original purpose to have given a general *résumé* of the information contained in Mr. Crawfurd's narrative, and to have made it in some sort a text-book for appending observations exhibiting either the changes which have taken place in Siam

* *Moor's Notices of Indian Archipelago*, p. 236.

during the last third of a century, or the different impressions I received from the objects which presented themselves to our common observation: but I am afraid of drawing too largely from the pages of my friend's book, and shall therefore content myself with making a few verbatim extracts, illustrating topics more immediately connected with my mission, and which serve to indicate the more favourable circumstances under which I visited Siam.

Mr. Crawfurd gives the following account of the foreign minister, who was the senior commissioner appointed by the King to negotiate my treaty, and who died a few days after the treaty was signed. He was, at the time of his decease, the first regent of the kingdom,—a man of vast influence. The King wrote to me, after his death, to request that his name might be retained as connected with the treaty. He was the father of the present prime minister of Siam.

"Sûri-wung Kosa (for this was the foreign minister's name) was a man about thirty-eight years of age, rather a heavy figure, inclining to be corpulent, and of a complexion dark for a Siamese. His features were expressive of good sense, but there was an air of sullenness and reserve in them not calculated to gain confidence. His person was without ornaments, and, indeed, it may be said, nearly without dress; for he wore nothing saving a piece of crimson silk which was wrapped round his loins. Altogether, whether in person or manner, he had very much the appearance of a frugal Hindoo of the mercantile caste, in good circumstances. His questions, upon this occasion, were sensible and pertinent throughout, and

evinced none of the troublesome importunity which I experienced from the Chief of Pak-nam His principal inquiries were directed to the objects of the Mission, and he seemed satisfied with the explanations which were given. He requested us, as we had made a long voyage, to repose ourselves for a few days, when we should be presented to the King. It would, however, he added, according to the custom of the place, be requisite that we should be previously introduced to the Prince Kromchiat, the eldest son of the King, who superintended the foreign and commercial department. Our conversation was carried on in Malay through the medium of Ko-chai-asa-hak; for our interpreters, although they accompanied us, were not allowed to act. Before we took our departure, a very neat dessert of choice fruits, sweetmeats, and tea was served up to us."

Mr Crawfurd was introduced to the late King, then the Prince Kromchiat, whom he describes as of "a heavy and corpulent figure, about thirty-eight years of age, but having the appearance of fifty. . . . His countenance was sensible and good-natured; but, destitute as he was of becoming attire, he had but a mean and undignified appearance. The courtiers kept at a great distance, crouching to the very ground, with their hands clasped before them. Among these were several Mahomedans of the sect of Ali, descendants of emigrants from the Coromandel coast. These people, who, from education and circumstances, are naturally subtle and intriguing, have considerable influence in the foreign department of the Siamese administration. Among

the courtiers, the Prah-klang alone was a little in advance, but prostrate, like the rest. Mr. Rutherfurd and I sat down upon a carpet which was pointed out to us, between the prince and his courtiers. Near us we found the presents of the Governor-General to the prince. We were no sooner seated, than the Christian intendant of the port directed us, in a tone of authority bordering on rudeness, to make the customary obeisance. I felt under the necessity of rebuking him, by observing that, unless he could express himself with more propriety and decorum, he must not presume to address us at all. This had the desired effect, for we were not again importuned by him during the rest of the evening.

"It had been provided that our interpreters should be admitted; but this was a promise which was by no means intended to be kept. To be admitted to the presence of the prince was considered too great an honour for persons of their condition, and, besides, a very inconvenient restraint upon the conversation which would ensue. Accordingly, when they attempted to follow us into the hall, they were jostled by the attendants and forced to withdraw. I even found that Ko-chai-asa-hak was not of sufficient rank to address the prince directly. Another Mahomedan, of superior rank, who was a little in advance for this purpose, received the prince's words, and Ko-chai-asa-hak, who lay crouched behind us, rendered them to me in the Malayan language. I was first asked if peace or war prevailed in Hindoostan; and then followed a number of questions which were personal towards the Governor-General, such as

inquiries after his health, how long he had governed India, what was his Excellency's age, and whether or not he was brother to the King of England? When these inquiries were satisfactorily answered, the prince observed—'I have heard of his reputation for justice and wisdom, from the merchants of all nations who have of late years resorted to this country.'

"The prince, after this, referred to a subject of less dignity, but one which interested him more—the fate of a ship which, about fourteen months before, he had sent on a commercial speculation to Bengal. This was the vessel which we had seen at Calcutta, Penang, and Singapore, and which had left the latter place before ourselves, although she had not yet arrived. He asked whether we had seen her, when she might be expected, and whether or not she had a European pilot on board. After this last question, he wished to know whether we thought European or Indian mariners most skilful. The answer was not difficult; and he explained, in a tone of compliment, 'when I speak of Europeans in general, I do not mean the English, for their superiority over all other people in this respect is well known.' One question touching the subject now introduced was calculated to excite a smile. The prince desired to know whether, during his residence at Calcutta, the commander of the Siamese ship had dressed in the English fashion, and conformed to the manners and customs of Europeans. The individual from whom this compliance with foreign manners was expected, was an unwieldy old Mahomedan of sixty, and of most uncompromising Oriental habits.

"The next question put touched slightly on the subject of European politics, and the prince was especially solicitous to know whether the British and Portuguese were at present at peace. It was readily answered that the English and Portuguese nations had been friends and allies for many ages, and that there was every probability of their continuing so. The Siamese naturally form an undue estimate of the power of the Portuguese nation, from having at all times seen and heard more of them than of any other European people; and this accounts for the present questions.

"We were asked after this what objects we had in view after quitting Siam. This question afforded an opportunity of explaining the real object of the Mission. The prince observed upon this, in a strain of compliment, 'It is wise in the Governor-General of India to seek friendship and commerce with distant nations.'

"Besides these, many trifling and unimportant questions were also put, such as the ages of the different gentlemen composing the Mission, the length and nature of their services, the number of European and Indian languages which they had acquired, &c. The audience lasted nearly two hours, and was not over until between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. These late hours, as we afterwards found, are the favourite ones amongst the Siamese for the transaction of business. During this visit no repast was served to us; but we had no sooner reached home, than we found eight large tubs of sweetmeats, sent to us as a present by the prince.

The account of the interview with the King I give in Mr. Crawfurd's own words. The Court of Siam has made great advances since 1822; it no longer insists on the removal of side-arms, on the taking off shoes, on the exclusion of attendants and interpreters, nor on any of the degrading and humiliating observances which were exacted from Mr. Crawfurd and his suite.

"The ceremony of our introduction to the King having been fixed upon for this day (April 8th), we left our dwelling at half-past eight in the morning for the palace. A twelve-oared barge, with the rowers dressed in scarlet uniforms, was furnished by the Court for the conveyance of the gentlemen of the Mission; another for our Indian attendants, about twenty in number; and the Sepoys of the escort were conveyed in the ship's launch. It was made a particular request that our servants, but especially the Sepoys of the escort, should form part of the procession. About nine o'clock we landed under the walls of the palace, where we found an immense concourse of people waiting to view the spectacle. The accommodation for conveying us to the palace consisted of net hammocks suspended from poles, furnished with an embroidered carpet, and, according to the custom of the country, borne by two men only. The management of these unstable vehicles was a matter of some difficulty, and our awkwardness became a subject of some amusement to the crowd. The escort, after saluting us at the landing-place, fell in and formed part of the procession. After passing the first gate, we came to a very extensive market,

crowded in every part with the populace. This led directly to the second gate, where a street of soldiers, in single file, was formed to receive us: these were of a most grotesque appearance, their costume being neither Asiatic nor European, but a strange mixture of both. Their uniforms consisted of a loose jacket of scarlet broadcloth, buttoned in front; a pair of small loose trousers, barely reaching to the knee; and a hat with a small round crown and broad brim, which was coated with red paint or varnish, and composed of rhinoceros hide,—a substance which is sabre-proof. Their arms consisted of muskets and bayonets, coated, like their hats, with a thick red varnish: some of the muskets were without ramrods, and altogether in a very poor state in regard to efficiency.

"At the second gateway we dismounted from our litters, and left the escort, which was not permitted to go further: we were also compelled at this place to part with our side-arms, no person whatever, we were told, being permitted to come armed within the immediate precincts of the Royal residence. Passing through this gate, we went along an avenue having a line of sheds on both sides, under each of which was a cannon of enormous size. In this avenue, also, a street of Siamese military, similar to those just described, was formed to receive us. Turning a little aside from this avenue, we were conducted into an immense hall, which seemed to be not less than eighty or ninety feet long, and forty or fifty broad. This, I believe, was the principal hall of justice; but it did not seem to be much frequented, for pigeons,

swallows, and sparrows had nested in the roof, and were now flying about without fear or interruption, as it is a religious maxim not to disturb them. Close to this building, ten elephants, caparisoned, were drawn out, the first we had seen since our arrival.

"Carpets were spread for us, and we were requested to wait a summons into the Royal presence. We were not detained above twenty minutes, when the summons arrived, and we proceeded to the hall of audience. This portion of the royal inclosure was, like the rest that we had passed, filled with a crowd of people, who were curious and clamorous, but not rude. A number of officers, with white wands, attended to keep off the crowd, and two officers, after the manner of heralds, preceded us. We now reached the third and last gate, which contains the principal palace, a building with a tall spire, and roofed with tin; the hall of audience, distinct from the palace, and an extensive temple of Buddha. We were here requested to take off our shoes, and to leave behind us our Indian attendants: none of our party whatever, indeed, were permitted to go beyond this spot, except the four British officers of the Mission. I had previously stipulated that our interpreters, although not admitted into the presence, should be within hearing; but, in the hurry of the moment, they were jostled, and hindered from following. As soon as we had entered the gate, we found a band of music, consisting of not less than a hundred persons, drawn up to form a street for our reception: the instruments consisted of gongs, drums, brass flutes, and flageolets.

"Opposite to the door of the hall of audience there an immense Chinese mirror of many parts, which formed a screen, concealing the interior of the court from our view. We had no sooner arrived at this spot, than a loud flourish of wind instruments was heard, accompanied by a wild shout or yell, which announced, as we afterwards found, the arrival of his Majesty. We passed the screen to the right side, and, as had been agreed upon, taking off our hats, made a respectful bow in the European manner. Every foot of the great hall which we had now entered was literally so crowded with prostrate courtiers, that it was difficult to move without the risk of treading upon some officer of state. Precedence is decided, on such occasions, by relative vicinity to the throne; the princes being near the foot of it, the principal officers of government next to them, and thus, in succession, down to the lowest officer who is admitted into the presence. We seated ourselves a little in front of the screen, and made three obeisances to the throne, in unison with the courtiers. This obeisance consisted in raising the joined hands to the head three times, and at each touching the forehead. To have completed the Siamese obeisance, it would have been necessary to have bent the body to the ground, and touched the earth with the forehead at each prostration. I thought the place assigned to us, although not a very distinguished one, the highest it was intended to concede; but we had no sooner made our obeisances than we were requested to advance, and were finally settled about half-way towards the throne. The assigning to us the first place,

and our advance afterwards to a more honourable one, was evidently an artifice of our conductors to exact a greater number of obeisances than we had pledged ourselves to make; for when we were seated the second time, the whole Court made three additional obeisances, in which we were compelled to join, to avoid the imputation of rudeness.

"The hall of audience appeared a well-proportioned and spacious saloon, of about eighty feet in length, perhaps half this in breadth, and thirty feet in height. Two rows, each of ten handsome wooden pillars, formed an avenue from the door to the throne, which was situated at the upper end of the hall. The walls and ceiling were painted of a bright vermilion; the cornices of the former being gilded, and the latter thickly spangled throughout with stars in rich gilding. Between the pillars were observed several good lustres of English cut-glass. The apartment would have been altogether in good taste, but for the appearance against the pillars of some miserable lamps of tin-plate, which had been imported from Batavia, and which were in all likelihood prized only because they were foreign.

"The throne and its appendages occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The first was gilded all over, and about fifteen feet high; it had much the shape and look of a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains, of gold tissue upon a yellow ground, concealed the whole of the upper part of the room, except the throne; and they were intended to be drawn over this also, except when used. In front of the throne, and rising from the floor, were to be seen

a number of gilded umbrellas of various sizes. These consisted of a series of canopies, decreasing in size upwards, and sometimes amounting to as many as seventeen tiers. The King, as he appeared seated on his throne, had more the appearance of a statue in a niche than of a living being. He wore a loose gown of gold tissue, with very wide sleeves; his head was bare, for he wore neither crown nor any other ornament on it. Close to him was a golden baton or sceptre.

"The general appearance of the hall of audience, the prostrate attitude of the courtiers, the situation of the King, and the silence which prevailed, presented a very imposing spectacle, and reminded us much more of a temple crowded with votaries engaged in the performance of some solemn rite of religion, than the audience-chamber of a temporal monarch.

"The King seemed a man between fifty and sixty years of age, rather short in person, and disposed to corpulency. His features were very ordinary, and appeared to bespeak the known indolence and imbecility of his character: but upon this subject it was not easy to form any correct opinion, owing to the distance we were at from the throne, and the sort of *chiaro-scuro* cast upon it, evidently for effect.

"To the left of the throne we saw exhibited the portable part of the presents from the Governor-General. A secretary proceeded to read a list of them, and I make no doubt they were represented as tribute or offering, although of this it was impossible to obtain proof. The letter of the Governor-Gene-

ral was neither read nor exhibited, notwithstanding the distinct pledge which had been given to that effect.

"The words which his Siamese Majesty condescended to address to us were delivered in a grave, measured, and oracular manner. One of the first officers of state delivered them to a person of inferior rank, and this person to Ko-chai-sahak, who was behind us, and explained them in the Malay language. The questions put, as they were rendered to us, were as follows:—'The Governor-General of India (literally, in Siamese, the Lord, or Governor, of Bengal) has sent you to Siam: what is your business?' A short explanation of the objects of the Mission was given in reply. 'Have you been sent with the knowledge of the King of England?' It was here explained that, from the great distance of England, the political intercourse with the distant nations of the East was commonly entrusted to the management of the Governor-General of India. 'Is the Governor-General of India brother to the King of England?' To this question it was replied that the Governor-General of India had been the personal friend of his Sovereign from early life, but that he was not his brother. The following questions were successively put:—'What difference is there in the ages of the King and Governor-General?—Was the Governor-General of India in good health when you left Bengal?—Where do you intend to go after leaving Siam?—Is peace your object in all the countries you mean to visit?—Do you intend to travel by land or water from Sai-gun to Turan?—Is it your

intention to visit Hué, the capital of Cochin China?' After receiving replies to these different questions, his Majesty concluded with the following sentence:—'I am glad to see an envoy here from the Governor-General of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to the minister Suri-Wung Kosa. What we chiefly want from you are fire-arms.'

"His Majesty had no sooner pronounced these last words than we heard a loud stroke, as if given by a wand against a piece of wainscoting, upon which the curtains on each side of the throne, moved by some concealed agency, closed upon it. This was followed by the same flourish of wind instruments and the same wild shout which accompanied our entrance; and the courtiers falling upon their faces to the ground, made six successive prostrations. We made three obeisances, sitting upright, as had been agreed upon.

"As soon as the curtain was drawn upon his Majesty, the courtiers, for the first time, sat upright, and we were requested to be at our ease, freely to look round us, and *admire the splendour and magnificence* of the Court; such being nearly the words made use of by the interpreter in making this communication to us."

Of the negotiations in order to obtain a treaty, Mr. Crawfurd thus reports:—

"April 17.—The occurrence of the holidays, the loved procrastination of the Siamese in everything, and, I have no doubt, also the reluctance of the Court to enter upon the subject, delayed the commencement of the negotiation until yesterday, when we had our

first conference with the Prah-klang. This, as well as all the succeeding ones, took place at the minister's house, and always between the hours of eight and ten at night, the customary time for transacting all public affairs in Siam. The minister stated that the King perfectly understood the nature of the request made by the Governor-General of India, but he wished us specifically to state the extent of the demands which we had to make. The answer to this was that the wishes of the Governor-General of India generally were to see the imposts upon European commerce at Siam lightened, and the intercourse rendered in all respects so free and fair as to make it agreeable to both parties.

"This sentiment was by no means conformable to the wishes of the Siamese negotiator, and he immediately gave the conversation another direction. He said that, undoubtedly, the more English ships that visited Siam, the better; and he was so anxious upon the subject, that he wished for a specific engagement that not less than four should come yearly. I said that it would be difficult to specify any particular number; but I was thoroughly convinced that many more than the number to which he alluded would come, if the intercourse was put upon a fair and easy footing.

"In justification of the demand now made, the Prah-klang observed that two years ago the Siamese had made a commercial treaty with the Portuguese, and reduced the import duties from eight to six per cent. No Portuguese ships, however, had come to Siam since; and it was, therefore, a matter of some

scandal to the Siamese Government that it had made a treaty, as it were, about nothing. I explained that the Siamese were not unaware of the commercial resources of the English nation, and that there could be no possible risk on this account.

"The Prah-klang now stated that a letter would be prepared, in reply to that of the Governor-General of India, in which it would be stated that the concessions granted to the English commerce in Siam had been fully explained in person to his agent, and he trusted this would answer every purpose; an observation which showed at once the reluctance which the Court felt to enter into any specific arrangements, or fetter itself by a written treaty. I answered that matters of this nature, according to our customs, would not be considered satisfactory unless committed to writing. The answer to this was: 'The Governor-General, in his letter to the King, has stated that you are his representative, and therefore whatever is told to you is the same thing as if told to himself.' I of course persevered in my objection, and he concluded by saying that such a written document as I required would be furnished. . . .

"April 18.—We had last night an audience of the Prince Kromchiat. The avowed object of it was to renew the public discussion; but the subject was never once touched upon, and was in all probability purposely evaded. . . .

"April 23.—We had a conference with the minister last night, which lasted from nine to twelve o'clock. On this occasion I explained at length the nature of the commercial arrangements which we were anxious

to make, and for this purpose took with me notes for a treaty, which provided generally for a free and fair trade; for the determination of the export and import duties, and of all fees and charges; providing, at the same time, security for the persons and properties of British subjects resorting to Siam. The Portuguese having obtained permission for the residence of a commercial agent, and a promise to a similar effect having, as was understood, been made to the Americans, we hinted at a like arrangement for the British Government. In general, no negative was put upon these various requisitions at the time, with the exception of that which provided security for the person and properties of British subjects. In answer to this proposition, the Prah-klang distinctly stated that the King of Siam would make no alteration in the established laws of the country in favour of strangers. This was, indeed, a point which could not be insisted on.* If the subjects of a free and civilized Government resort to a barbarous and despotic country, there is no remedy but submission to its laws, however absurd or arbitrary; so impossible is it in all respects to reconcile the fair and equal commerce of nations in opposite states of civilization with the freedom of conduct which must be supposed vested in every independent Government, whatever its nature. It could scarcely be hoped,

* The most difficult part of my negotiation was the emancipating British subjects from subjection to Siamese laws, and the establishment of a consul charged with magisterial functions, whose duty it would be to compel obedience on the part of all British residents in Siam to British law. This all-important object was accomplished.—J. B.

although it has sometimes happened, that an arbitrary Government should concede to strangers a degree of liberty and security which it denied to its own subjects. Before parting, it was agreed upon that the conference should be renewed on the following night.

"April 24.—I had a sudden and unexpected visit this morning from the Prah-klang, who came, as upon the former occasion, by scrambling over the gable-end of the house into the corridor. I thought this visit was intended to prevent or anticipate the conference which was agreed upon in the evening, but he came with very different views. He told us that he had come for the purpose of requesting assistance in recovering two pairs of ordinary glass lamps, which he alleged had been offered to the King by an individual belonging to the Mission ship, but afterwards sold to some one else. He said that his Majesty had set his heart on the lamps, that he was highly indignant at any one else presuming to purchase them, and that he had threatened half his courtiers with corporal punishment on account of his disappointment. I promised to inquire into the transaction, but could not help informing him that, amongst us, the person who gave the best price for a commodity was generally considered as establishing the first claim to it.

"In the evening I had an apology from the minister, and a request that the conference might be put off to another time. The excuse made was a singular one: that his father-in-law, or at least one of the numerous persons who stood in that relation to

him, had broken a favourite mirror, at which the minister was in such distress that he was utterly incapable of attending to public business. . . .

"May 5.—The negotiation was now again interrupted, and the important cause alleged was the King's changing his residence from one portion of the palace to another,—a matter which was said to give occupation, day and night, to all his ministers. The benediction of the talapoins was necessary to the King's new residence; and, a few days ago, we were told that several thousands were assembled to bestow it, who in return for prayers were well fed, and presented with new garments. . . . .

"May 8.—I succeeded, after many difficulties, in renewing the conference, and last night had a long discussion with the minister. This chief had within the last few days been raised to the permanent post of Prah-klang, in which he had before only officiated, and now obtained the name and title of Suri-wong-kosa, instead of Suri-wong-muntri, which he had formerly borne. Every advance in rank or station is in a similar manner marked by some alteration in the title.

"From what I had observed of the temper and character of the Siamese Government, and particularly the specimen of their conduct towards the Portuguese consul which had come under our observation since the late conference, the prudence of forbearing from urging the proposal for a resident British agent became obvious, although, indeed, such an appointment had been first suggested by the Siamese themselves, the year before, to an English

merchant of Singapore, who was the bearer of letters from the Resident of that place, as well as from the Governor of Prince of Wales's Island. No direct negative was now put upon it; but there was, notwithstanding, an evident reluctance to it, and I therefore resolved to drop the subject altogether, lest it might interfere with objects which promised to be more attainable. There is no question, at the same time, but that such an officer is extremely desirable, and will ultimately afford the only means of giving security, respectability, and extension to our commercial interest at Siam. In the present state of our acquaintance with the Siamese, however, such an appointment might lead to difficulties. An indignity offered on their part could not be overlooked; a quarrel might be the consequence, and such a quarrel might involve, in spite of ourselves, a breach of that neutral policy which we have long made it a rule to pursue in reference to the continental nations beyond the Ganges.

"A Siamese translation of the sketch of the treaty which I proposed had been furnished to the Prah-klang since the last conference, and the Siamese Court was, of course, now fully aware of the nature and extent of our demands. No objections were made to the greater number of the detailed arrangements which we proposed, but a very decided one to a free and unrestrained trade. The Prah-klang insisted upon the King's right of pre-emption, stating that it was a prerogative which had existed from time immemorial, and could not be surrendered. He well knew that, as long as this was maintained, all the minor arrange-

ments might readily be defeated. The mode of carrying on the foreign trade of Siam is, in short, this:—When a ship arrives, the officers of Government, under pretext of serving the King, select a large share of the most vendible part of the goods, and put their own price upon them. No private merchant, under penalty of heavy fine or severe corporal punishment, is allowed to make an offer for the goods until the agents of the Court are satisfied. A large portion, and often the whole, of the export cargo is supplied to the foreign merchant upon the same principle. The officers of the Government purchase the commodities at the lowest market rate, and sell them to the exporter at an arbitrary valuation. The resident Chinese alone, from their numbers and influence, have got over this difficulty, and, of course, are carrying on a very large and valuable commerce. This pernicious and ruinous practice is the only real obstacle to the European trade in Siam; for neither the duties on merchandise or tonnage are excessive, property is sufficiently secure, and the country is fertile, abounding in productions suited for foreign trade beyond any other with which I am acquainted. A stout resistance was made to the exercise of this right; and the freedom from official interference which existed not only at all our own Indian ports, but in China and elsewhere, was particularly urged. I addressed myself, however, to a party deeply interested in maintaining the present order of things,—to the individuals, in short, whose emoluments arose from the very source of corruption which was complained of, and who were not, therefore, likely to be

convinced by any arguments. The injustice of the principle was too apparent to be openly maintained, and the Prah-klang only attempted to palliate it by urging the moderation with which it was exercised, and the security which the interference of Government afforded to the foreign merchant in realizing his returns.

"At this interview, the Prah-klang asked whether the British Government would enter into a contract with that of Siam for the supply of salt to Bengal,—a commodity, he said, which Siam afforded of an excellent quality and in great abundance. He observed that the King of Siam would contract at once to supply four hundred thousand piculs, or about twenty-four thousand tons, and a larger quantity afterwards if required. I was unprepared for the discussion of this point at the time, but resolved to renew it at a future interview, hoping that some advantage might be drawn from it. . . .

"May 19.—The conference was renewed to-day at twelve o'clock. I urged the necessity of unrestricted trade, and the advantage which would accrue from foregoing the claim of pre-emption. The Prah-klang feigned to be of my opinion, but said that, after due deliberation, he and the rest of the ministers had decided that the proposal implied so great an innovation upon the established customs of the country, that they dare not mention it to the King, and that I must propose it personally at an audience which would be granted in a few days for this purpose. I was much surprised at this unexpected offer, and,

although its sincerity was suspicious, I gladly closed with it.

"The subject of supplying salt to Bengal was introduced, and I stated the terms upon which it could be admitted, consistently with the fiscal regulations of the Indian Government. The subject excited a strong interest; Chinese accountants and *sanpans* were put in requisition, and the necessary calculations were made on the spot. It was declared, as the result, that no profit could be made by these speculations, and the project was therefore abandoned. An open trade in this article with the Bengal provinces would probably add great facilities to the establishment of an extensive intercourse between them and Siam; for salt, which is produced in such excellence and abundance in the latter country, must always form a great part of the cargoes exported to other Indian countries, where there is a scarcity of that commodity. It is chiefly by means of it that Siam maintains at present so considerable a traffic with Palembang, the Straits of Malacca, and other portions of the Malay country.

"At this meeting, the Prah-klang requested me, as a favour, to afford my assistance in rendering an intelligible translation into Siamese, through the Malay language, of a letter which he had received from one of the secretaries of the Indian Government. I undertook this, and as soon as I had reached home, was waited upon by the Christian intendant of the post, accompanied by three Siamese secretaries. It was an extremely difficult matter to

satisfy them; they cavilled at and discussed every sentence as my Malayan interpreter proceeded. When they came to the conclusion of the letter, they pointed out some broken lines in the original, of which they desired a literal translation. This was nothing more or less than the European complimentary form which precedes the subscription. No possible translation could have been given of this, which the vanity of the Siamese would not have construed into an acknowledgment of inferiority on the part of the writer and his Government. Eastern ideas may be rendered without difficulty into the copious and flexible languages of Europe; but to render the peculiar idioms and formalities of the languages of Europe into the meagre and obdurate dialects of India is altogether impracticable, except when we write with an express view to future translation, which is the safest course to pursue in our intercourse with the Eastern nations. When, about two years before our arrival, the Governor of Macao addressed a letter to the King of Siam, he expressed the deep regret which he felt at not being able to repair in person to Siam, that there he might have 'the honour of kissing his Majesty's Royal hand.' If the Governor of Macao had been at Siam, he would not have been permitted to approach within twenty yards of the King's person. His proposal therefore, which was intended for respect and civility, was considered by the Siamese as highly offensive, and was expunged by the ministers before they would venture to explain the contents of the letter to the King. . . .

"May 25.—I had another long conference last

night with the Prah-klang, the results of which, I am sorry to say, were far from satisfactory. When the English ship in the river had first arrived, an assurance was given that the import duty would be reduced from eight to six per cent., and that she should be allowed to dispose of her cargo freely, without any of the usual interference on the part of the officers of Government. This arrangement having been most completely evaded, and in a manner the most irksome and disingenuous, it became necessary to bring the matter to the notice of the minister. In explanation, it was pretended that the reduction of duties should take place only when the English ships frequenting Siam should amount to five in number, as first stated. As to the unrestricted trade, it was constantly insisted upon that this was granted, but that the goods were so high in price that no one would buy. The fact was, as I had been well informed, that a secret order had been issued by the Prah-klang, forbidding all persons to hold any dealings with the English vessel, under pain of fine or corporal punishment. The determination, indeed, of the party who profited by it to maintain their monopoly was resolutely taken, and it seemed almost in vain to struggle against it. On this question they finally informed us, that the reply to the Governor-General would be ready for delivery on the 26th. . . .

"May 27.—Last night, at the usual hour, I had another and my final public interview with the Prah-klang, which was as unsatisfactory as any of those which preceded it. One of the principal objects of it was to read to me a draft of the reply intended to the

letter of the Governor-General. With their wonted procrastination, however, the draft was not ready, but was promised to be produced during the course of the day. I took this last opportunity of recapitulating the arguments which I had already so often made use of in favour of an unshackled trade; but, as I was by this time fully aware of the strong interest which militated against them, I was not surprised that they were repeated to little purpose. I dwelt particularly upon the favourable treatment which Siamese vessels had received in our ports. This was acknowledged, and nothing very reasonable could be said against what was urged, the constant answer being the difficulty of changing the long-established usages of the country. The proposal of introducing us to a second audience of the King was now altogether abandoned, without any cause being assigned for it; but I have reason to believe that the Prah-klang and his party apprehended that, from the freedom of the communications which had already been made on the subject of the affair of Quedah, the interview might have been attended with disclosures unfavourable to their own peculiar views.

"May 28.—At three o'clock yesterday afternoon, messengers came to inform us that a draft of the letter to the Governor-General was now ready for our inspection. I proceeded, accordingly, to the house of the Prah-klang. The chief was himself absent, under pretext of indisposition; but his deputy, Pia-Pipat-kosa, the venerable old chief who had come on board to receive the letter of the Governor-General, but who had not been present at

any of the former conferences, received us in his stead. Along with him was Pia-Raja-Chula, the head of the Mahommedan settlers, who had also not been present at any of the former conferences. Two drafts of letters, in answer to that of the Governor-General, were exhibited. One of these was in the name of the Prah-klang, and addressed directly to the Governor-General; and the other was from his deputy, addressed to the secretary to Government. The purport of both was the same, and the cause of preparing the two was to afford us an opportunity of selecting whichever we might prefer. A direct address from the King to the Governor-General had been declared contrary to the etiquette of the Court; and, on the other hand, I had caused it to be made known at an early period that no direct address from a minister to the Governor-General would be received. The great object which the Prah-klang, although but a minister of inferior rank, had in view, was to place himself on an equality of station with the Governor-General of India. This pretension was, of course, to be discouraged; and the draft which was in his name was at once rejected, and the other approved. The pretensions which were thus set up were, indeed, sufficiently absurd, but yet certainly less ridiculous than those made by the Burman ministers, who, when preparing the draft of a letter to the Governor-General in 1810, wished to style the King of England a tributary of his Burman Majesty!

"A third document was then exhibited, which was a letter from Pia-Raja-Chula, the superintendent of the customs, addressed to myself; and this contained

such concessions to our trade as the Siamese Court had resolved to grant. It stipulated for an unlimited admission of British ships into the port of Bangkok, and for the reduction of the present duty of eight per cent. to six, as soon as the annual number of vessels arriving should amount to five. The document, in its present form, I concluded was an ultimatum, and I had no intention of offering any objection to it; but the Siamese officers having requested to know whether I had any alteration to propose, I requested that the stipulation for the reduction of duties might not be contingent upon the number of ships arriving, but unconditional. This proposition, very unexpectedly on my part, gave rise to a discussion of two hours' continuance. They earnestly requested that I would be satisfied with a verbal assurance to the effect which I required; but this, with the knowledge which I now had of Siamese assurances, as well as the character of the proposal itself, I necessarily declined.

"The person who took the most active share in this day's conversation was Pia-Raja-Chula, the chief of the Mahommedan settlers, from the west of India. This class of persons, possessing a large share of the characteristic disposition of the natives of Hindustan for intrigue, have considerable influence, and in our affair it was certainly exercised prejudicially. They subsist upon the perquisites and plunder of the foreign trade, and to have placed this upon a fair and equitable footing would have deprived them of a considerable share of their emoluments: their friendship, therefore, was not to be expected.

"June 6.—The letter for the Governor-General was ready on the 3rd instant, but I heard nothing of the commercial document till last night, when it was reported to me to be ready; and I had another interview with the Siamese chiefs for the purpose of hearing it read. It was translated, passage by passage, by our own interpreter, and I was surprised to find the whole document much altered: it now stipulated for no reduction of duties in any case, but, instead of it, there was an express stipulation for that free and unrestrained trade which I had all along struggled for. I of course accepted this document at once, without offering any comment upon it. . . .

"June 12.—In the course of the evening, the reply to the Governor-General's letter and the commercial document were finally brought to us. In compliment to them, a ladder was put up against the end of the house, and in this manner they were conveyed to the apartment where we received them. The originals of both were in the Siamese language, but they were accompanied by Portuguese translations, which last only were open for inspection; the former being enclosed in silk envelopes, duly sealed, and deposited in large red lacquered bowls, according to the custom of the country. A request to have copies of the originals in Siamese was refused, most probably under an apprehension that, on examination, this might give rise to some unpleasant discussion respecting the phraseology made use of. It was necessary to open the silk envelopes to ascertain the true contents of the original letters. This was accordingly done, and translations having been effected, I had the mor-

tification to discover that the pledge of unrestricted trade, or, as it was expressed in the original draft, 'free permission to British merchants to buy and sell with the merchants of Siam,' was entirely omitted, and an ominous one of assistance from the superintendent of customs substituted for it. After the struggles I had already made, I felt that further remonstrance would be useless, and might even, in the present state of things, be productive of such additional irritation as might endanger our future prospects. Under this impression, I forbore to notice the deception which had been practised in the terms which it well merited.

"The answer to the letter of the Governor-General, as translated through the medium of the Malay, was as follows:—

"'The letter of Paya-Pipat-Racha-Balat-Kosa, second Prah-klang at the Court of Prah-Maha-Nakon-Si-Ayuthia, to the secretary of the Government of Bengal, makes known to him that the Governor of Bengal sent a letter by Mr. Crawfurd, the subject of which was to explain that England has been at peace with all the nations of Europe for a long time, and that the Governor of Bengal is anxious to be in friendship with the kingdom of Siam, and to increase it beyond the friendship of other times; and, further, that he wishes that the merchants of Siam should trade to English ports, whether in Europe or in other parts of the world, and that the English should have the same liberty to frequent this kingdom: and, moreover, that as the imposts on trade in Siam are high, he requests the

King of Siam would make them lighter, to the end that by this means English merchants might be encouraged to extend their trade in Siam. Mr. Crawfurd having come as the envoy from the Governor of Bengal to offer presents to his Majesty, and representing the person of the Governor of Bengal, &c., the Chao-Pia-Prah-klang, first minister in this department, gave him all assistance, and introduced him to his Majesty's presence, with the letter and offerings of the Governor of Bengal, and explained the contents of the said letter fully to his Majesty. His Majesty, on this, caused it to be distinctly made known to his grandees of every rank, that the Governor of Bengal, with good-will, had chosen Mr. Crawfurd to convey *offerings* to his Majesty, having a desire to strengthen the existing friendship, and farther, to increase it; and, in consequence of that, that merchants might be encouraged to resort with their ships to the kingdom. His Majesty was much gratified at all this; and in regard to the imposts upon trade, Mr. Crawfurd was directed by his Majesty to confer with the principal officers connected with this department, according to custom. His Majesty has ordered the officers in charge of the royal magazines to return presents to the Governor of Bengal as follows:—Ten elephants' teeth, weighing two piculs; eagle-wood, two piculs; benzoin, two piculs; cardamums, of one sort, one picul; of another, three piculs: tin, fifteen piculs; pepper, one hundred and fifty piculs; sugar, one hundred piculs; and gamboge, five piculs. These presents have been delivered to Mr. Crawfurd.

"'Written on Tuesday, in the 7th month, on the 8th day of the bright half of the moon, in the year of the Horse (26th May, 1822).'

"The commercial document was as follows:—

"'The Governor of Bengal commanded Mr. Crawfurd to come to Siam, to open a way to friendship and commerce, and to request permission for English ships to trade to this capital, buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and paying duties as heretofore. The Pia-Prah-klang, by authority of his Majesty, directs me in consequence to express his satisfaction at the contents of the letter of the Governor of Bengal, and to address a letter to Mr. Crawfurd, in the form of an agreement, to say that if English merchant-ships come to the port of the capital, upon their arrival at the mouth of the river they shall be searched by the Governor of Paknam, and their small arms and cannon landed, according to former custom, and then that the ships shall be conducted to the capital. As soon as they are anchored, the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and the duties and charges shall not be more than heretofore, nor afterwards be raised. Let the English merchants come to Siam to sell and buy in conformity to this agreement.

"'This letter of agreement is written on Thursday, in the 7th month, the 2nd day of the dark half of the moon, in the year of the Horse (10th June, 1822).'"

Among the descendants of the ancient Portuguese settlers in Siam, there was one who especially excited

our attention. He was the master of the ceremonies at our arrival in Paknam, and from his supposed traditional or hereditary acquaintance with the usages of European Courts, we found him invested with great authority on all State occasions. He wore a European Court dress, which he told me had been given him by Sir James Brooke, and which, like a rusty old cocked-hat, was somewhat the worse for wear. But I was not displeased to recognise in him a gentleman whom Mr. Crawfurd thus describes:—

"July 10.—I had, in the course of this forenoon, a visit from a person of singular modesty and intelligence, Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, the descendant of a Portuguese Christian of Kamboja. This gentleman holds a high Siamese title, and a post of considerable importance. Considering his means and situation, his acquirements were remarkable, for he not only spoke and wrote the Siamese, Kambojan, and Portuguese languages with facility, but also spoke and wrote Latin with considerable propriety. We found, indeed, a smattering of Latin very frequent among the Portuguese interpreters at Bangkok, but Señor Ribeiro was the only individual who made any pretence to speak it with accuracy. He informed us that he was the descendant of a person of the same name, who settled at Kamboja in the year 1685. His lady's genealogy, however, interested us more than his own. She was the lineal descendant of an Englishman of the name of Charles Lister, a merchant, who settled in Kamboja in the year 1701, and who had acquired some reputation at the Court

by making pretence to a knowledge in medicine. Charles Lister had come immediately from Madras, and brought with him his sister. This lady espoused a Portuguese of Camboja, by whom she had a son, who took her own name. Her grandson, of this name also, in the revolutions of the kingdom of Camboja, found his way to Siam; and here, like his great-uncle, practising the healing art, rose to the station of Maha-pet, or first physician to the King. The son of this individual, Cajitanus Lister, is at present the physician, and at the same time the minister and confidential adviser, of the present King of Kamboja. His sister is the wife of the subject of this short notice. Señor Ribeiro favoured us with the most authentic and satisfactory account which we had yet obtained of the late revolution and present state of Kamboja."

VI.—*Captain Burney's Mission*, 1826.

The only treaty existing between Great Britain and Siam, when I undertook my mission to Bangkok, was that entered into in 1826 by Captain Burney, who was sent by the Governor-General of India with the special view of obtaining the co-operation of the Siamese in the contest in which the Indian Government was then engaged with the Birmese. Much disquiet had been caused in the settlement of Penang, in consequence of the usurpation of the territory of Omally, the King of Quedah, by the King of Siam; and it was deemed an object of much importance to

negotiate a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Siamese. Few of Captain Burney's propositions were, however, entertained by them, though the arrangements he then made were, no doubt, the best he could effect.

I had, of course, to consider how far it was desirable to maintain the conditions of Captain Burney's treaty—what modifications were needed, what infractions had taken place against which it was important to obtain security for the future, and what were the practical privileges enjoyed by any other nations which carried on trading operations with Siam.

On examining the conditions of Captain Burney's treaty, the following considerations presented themselves in connexion with its various clauses. The object of the treaty was mainly to counteract the disposition evinced by the Siamese to co-operate with the Birmese in our first war with the latter power, and to remove the disquiet occasioned to our settlement of Penang by the Siamese occupation of the territories of our ally, the King of Quedah. These motives, rather than any commercial or general objects, induced the Governor-General of India to despatch Captain Burney to Bangkok. Captain Burney's Treaty comprises fourteen articles, seven of which may be said to be of a political, and the others of a commercial character.

The political articles are I., II., III., IV., XII., XIII., XIV. They refer to boundary questions, deserters or refugees, the banishment of the King of Quedah, the position to be retained by certain of

the Malayan States, and other subjects which needed not either to be questioned or alluded to in the negotiations on which I proposed to enter.

Of the remaining seven articles, No. VI., stipulating for free trade between the merchants of both nations without the intervention of any other parties, and for the recovery of debts; No. VIII., providing for the protection of wrecked crews and cargoes; and No. XI., for the secure transmission of letters from one part of the country to the other,—were too satisfactory to be abandoned; and the only articles that were objectionable, and which ought to be rescinded or revised, were Nos. V., VII., IX., and X.

The objections to Article V. were the limitation it places upon commercial intercourse, it being left with the governor of each Siamese country, as explained in Article IX., to determine whether a sufficiency of the commodities necessary to constitute a traffic are attainable at the ports within their several jurisdictions. It also contains the repugnant clause, that "the English subjects who visit a Siamese country must conduct themselves according to the laws of the Siamese country in every particular."

Art. VII. was scarcely less obnoxious, because it empowers the Siamese officers to deny liberty of residence to any English merchant "applying to build godowns or houses, or to buy or hire shops or houses in which to place his merchandise."

Art. IX., as already mentioned, makes the existence of trade at any Siamese place dependent upon the will of the governor of such place, instead of leaving it optional to the English merchant to seek trade

wherever he can find or make it, and thus virtually confines commercial operations to the single port of Bangkok.

Art. X., in respect to its principal stipulation,—that of inland trade between the British and Siamese possessions in the Malayan peninsula,—might be deemed imperfect only because, as it at present stands, it forbids the Peguans (who have since become our subjects) to participate in this traffic. But the closing clause of the article, which declares opium to be contraband, required to be modified, inasmuch as the Siamese have lately altered their legislation on this subject, and have farmed to a Chinese the right to import the drug.

In addition to the above treaty, Captain Burney concluded with the Siamese a commercial agreement of six articles. Four of these, viz., Nos. II., III., IV., and V., containing the rules for entering and clearing English vessels, are of limited importance; but, being in one or two respects unnecessarily vexatious, they called for some amendment: only Arts. I. and VI., therefore, remain to be noticed.

Art. I. contains the wholesome stipulation, that the English and Bangkok merchants "may buy and sell without the intervention of any other person, and with freedom and facility." The same stipulation also appears in Articles V. and VI. of Captain Burney's Treaty; but, in consequence of its constant and systematic infringement by the Siamese, both treaty and agreement had in this respect become inoperative. The interests of the trade required, how-

ever, that this article should be cancelled, as it decrees the payment of direct duties, on the consolidated system of one thousand seven hundred ticals (212*l.* 10*s.*) for each Siamese fathom of a ship's beam—a rate since reduced in practice to one thousand ticals (125*l.*), but which still placed British shipping on so disadvantageous a footing as to render it unable to compete with the free shipping of the Siamese officers and the nominally taxed vessels of the Chinese. This article prohibited the exportation of paddy and rice, the staple products of the country.

The abrogation of Art. VI. was indispensable, as in very absolute terms it placed all British subjects under Siamese laws; rendered them liable to be punished by a capital penalty in cases of homicide; by whipping, fine, or imprisonment, for other offences; and visited disrespectful language to a Siamese officer with immediate expulsion from the country.

The principal infringements of these treaties by the Siamese Government consisted—

1. In heavy duties being imposed on the exportation of sugar, iron and steel, iron pans, pepper, oil, stick-lac, and other articles; or,

2. In farming the trade in these articles to single persons, from whom or through whom they could alone be purchased.

3. In prohibiting the exportation of teak-wood, bullion, and salt.

4. In imposing heavy import duty on foreign iron and steel.

5. In refusing to recover debts due by Siamese officers and people to British subjects.

6. In forbidding British subjects to charter private vessels or Chinese junks.

In contradistinction to which, the privileges of the Chinese were—

1. Exemption from measurement duty.
2. Permission to build junks.
3. Permission to use their own junks.
4. Permission to charter any vessel they pleased.
5. Permission to purchase lands or houses.
6. Permission to manufacture certain articles.
7. Permission to hold farms of exclusive sale of many articles.
8. Permission to grow and manufacture sugar.
9. Permission to grow rice and other produce.
10. Permission to proceed to any distance into the interior to purchase produce.

In the treaty I concluded with Siam, every advantage obtained by Captain Burney was re-asserted and confirmed; securities against the infringements of the treaty were obtained; and many points were conceded by the Siamese to which Captain Burney was not able to obtain their consent.

VII.—*Mr. Roberts's Mission*, 1833.

The treaties of commerce existing with the Siamese Government at the time of my Mission were two—that of Captain Burney (in 1826), and that signed by Mr. Edmund Roberts on behalf of the United States, dated 20th March, 1833, and ratified by the King

of Siam on the 14th April, 1836, having been previously ratified by General Jackson on behalf of the American Government. The conditions of the American Treaty are—

1. Perpetual peace between the United States and Siam.

2. Right of buying and selling in Siam; munitions of war and opium excepted among imports, and rice among exports; liberty for United States' subjects to obtain passports authorizing them to quit the country when no legal objection exists.

3. Ships to pay, instead of import and export duties, a tonnage-duty of one thousand seven hundred ticals per Siamese fathom (212*l.* 10*s.*); but a vessel arriving in ballast to pay one thousand five hundred ticals (187*l.* 10*s.*) per fathom. Tonnage-duty not to be charged where a vessel only calls to refit, to victual, or to obtain information.

4. Diminution of duties, if granted to vessels of other nations, to be equally granted to vessels of the United States.

5. Hospitality and protection to be accorded to all shipwrecked vessels of the United States,—the expenses of salvage to be repaid to the King of Siam.

6. An American debtor to be released on the cession of all his property to Siamese creditors.

7. Usual rental to be paid for warehouses, in which the goods landed shall not be subject to taxes.

8. American citizens brought by pirates to Siam shall have their persons protected and their property restored.

9. United States' citizens shall respect the laws and ordinances of Siam.

10. If any but the Portuguese obtain the right to nominate consuls to reside in Siam, that right shall be given to the United States' Government.

The United States' Treaty with Siam was signed on Wednesday, the last day of the fourth month of the year of the Dragon (Siamese era 1194), corresponding, as just mentioned, to 20th March, 1833. It was signed in duplicate in Siamese and English, but Portuguese and Chinese translations are annexed. The contracting parties were the Chao Phaja Phraklang (minister for foreign affairs) and Edmund Roberts, minister of the United States. The terms of the treaty are so little favourable to commerce, that it could confer no benefit on either America or Siam, and it has remained a dead letter from the first. During the negotiations at Bangkok, it was, however, exhibited to us handsomely bound.

"Mr. Roberts proposed to form a treaty of friendship and commerce, to which the Siamese made no objections. He endeavoured, however, to make a more advantageous one than the English did; but that, the Siamese said, could not be done: they would agree to allow the Americans to trade on the same footing as the English, but more could not be granted. After some trouble and delay, a treaty was drawn up after the Siamese fashion; but then came the fight for alterations, amendments, &c. Mr. Roberts had an audience of the King, and only one. The treaty is written in the Siamese, Chinese, and Portuguese

languages, and commences in the same style as the English one, with '*Somdet Phra Puttie Chau Yu Hua*,' &c., which is translated in the treaty, 'the great and magnificent King,' instead of the literal and divine titles which are alike applied to their god and their King.* Mr. Roberts was very anxious to obtain the treaty sealed in duplicate, in order to forward one copy to the United States from Batavia or elsewhere; and, after having gone to the trouble of drawing three copies, the foolish old Pra-klang could not be induced to sign the duplicate, being fearful, it is presumed, that Mr. Roberts only wanted to sell the duplicate to some other state!—so that Mr. R. went away with only one copy sealed. The Pra-klang was reasoned with, and told that were he to sign a hundred copies no harm could befal the country, all being of the same tenor and date; but it was of no avail.

"The presents given by Mr. Roberts did not produce the desired effect, though valuable in themselves: indeed, to a Court like Siam they were rendered in some sense valueless, through their ignorance. The presents to the King consisted of a pair or two of beautiful watches set with pearls of some value, some silver baskets, and abundance of China silks. To the Pra-klang, also, Mr. Roberts gave presents to a good amount, but he did not visit any of the inferior princes. The amount of the presents might be about two thousand to two thousand five hundred dollars; while the returns consisted of a little sugar,

* The literal meaning of the Siamese is, "the Lord God Buddha is at the head."

sticlac, pepper, tin, gamboge, benjamin, anguella-wood, sapan-wood, and inferior cardamums; the whole of which might be worth one thousand or one thousand five hundred dollars. The Siamese knew the presents were bought in China, which did not please them much; and it is said that at one time they were not disposed to accept them. The original presents intended for the Cochin Chinese and Siamese Courts were sent out from America in a separate vessel, but she had not arrived in China ere the *Peacock* left. But this the Siamese would not credit."*

* * * * * *

"Mr. Roberts was desirous of inserting in the treaty a clause by which liberty should be granted to send a consul; but the Pra-klang would not consent, though the King is said to have told him to agree to it. The Pra-klang informed Mr. Roberts that Captain Burney had asked permission for an English consul to reside at Bangkok, but was refused."†

VIII.—*Sir James Brooke's Mission*, 1850.

Sir James Brooke being charged with plenipotentiary powers from the Queen to negotiate with the King of Siam, arrived on board H.M. steamer *Sphinx*, accompanied by the East India Company's steamer *Nemesis*, off the bar of the Meinam, on the 9th August, 1850, and immediately announced his arrival to the authorities. The *Sphinx* unfortunately got on shore, on the 11th August, on the mud-

* Moor's *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, p. 203. † *Ib.*, p. 204.

flat within the bar; and Sir James Brooke proceeded in the *Nemesis* to Paknam, where, on the 16th, he was met by the Phra-klang, or minister for foreign affairs. On the 22nd, the Mission proceeded in numerous barges to Bangkok. An unfavourable impression, justified by the result, was produced on the mind of Sir James by evidences of hostile preparations—namely, a boom across the river at Paklat, and numerous forts, with heavy artillery and large garrisons, on both sides of the river.

As the circumstances attendant upon his negotiations were not made public by the British Government (although well known at Bangkok), I am precluded from giving an account of them. Suffice it to say, that all his attempts to conclude a satisfactory treaty with Siam were unavailing, and that he finally broke off his communications with the Siamese Government on the 28th September, 1850, and left the country with a very unfavourable impression as to our future prospects of success in establishing commercial relations with this remarkable people.

IX.—*Mr. Ballestier's Mission*, 1850.

The *Nemesis* with Sir James Brooke had not left Paknam, when a United States' sloop of war arrived, bringing Mr. Ballestier, a commissioner sent by the American Government to represent the grievances of which United States' citizens had to complain, and to obtain a more favourable treaty. His Excellency's reception was anything but favourable, and he failed altogether in the object of his visit. His failure has

been attributed to many and various causes. There was no harmony of action between the commissioner and the naval authorities. He went to the capital almost unattended, and was not successful in conveying to the Siamese favourable impressions of the character of his mission. Mr. Ballestier had not been fortunate in his commercial operations as a merchant at Singapore, and it may be doubted whether the nomination of a commercial gentleman whose history was well known to the kings and nobles at Bangkok was judicious: it was certainly not deemed complimentary to the proud Siamese authorities.

But, whatever were the causes of Mr. Ballestier's non-success, he was refused an audience with the King, and finally left without presenting the President's letter—without the gratification of making a new treaty of amity and commerce, or even modifying the treaty already existing between the two Governments.

The consequence of the failure was to produce much alarm in the minds of the Siamese. The excitement became intense. The Siamese teachers all abandoned the missionaries through fear, and a tone of dejection and despondency pervades their correspondence of this period.* Mr. Ballestier had left an impression that the unfriendliness exhibited by the Siamese Court would be resented by the President and the Government of the United States. It was the intention of Mr. M'Lane, the American

* *Missionary Magazine*, Boston, 1851, p. 100.

commissioner, to proceed with me to Siam, but the state of his health and the necessity of visiting Europe led to the abandonment of his purpose. The clause in Mr. Roberts's treaty which concedes to the citizens of the United States whatever favours may be granted to other nations will enable them to participate in the advantages of the treaty with Great Britain.*

X.—*Sir John Bowring's Mission*, 1855.

The events connected with my Mission to Siam will be found in the personal narrative, and I propose, in this part of my volumes, principally to elucidate the progress and happy termination of our negotiations by various documents.

The Siamese commissioners were appointed by the two Kings on the 8th April, and the following is a translation (furnished in the handwriting of the First King) of their plenipotentiary powers:—

"The Supreme Royal mandate from their Siamese Majesties, Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau yu Hua, the First King of Siam, and Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Pawarendr Ramesr Mahiswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau yu Hua, the Second King of Siam, who both have held a consultation with their whole council of both royalty and nobility, to invest certain extraordinary

* Since this was written, a treaty almost identical with that of which I was the plenipotentiary has been negotiated by Mr. Townsend Harris, as American commissioner, between the Siamese Kings and the President of the United States.

party of noble persons that possess the whole will and confidence of all (principals in whole royalty and nobility of Siam), and have taken counsel of all royalty and nobility, have invested and empowered with full power of Siamese government five dignified individuals—viz., his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh, the Prince royal brother of their Majesties, to hold to royal opinion, accompanied with other four chosen noblemen—viz., his Excellency Somdetch Chau Phaya Param Maha Puyurawongse, the supreme regent, who has been authorized to overpower always upon whole kingdom of Siam; his Excellency Somdetch Chau Phaya Param Maha Bijaineate, the second regent, who has been authorized to overpower upon whole capital, with its adjacent districts around, dependent to this city; his Excellency Chau Phaya Sri Suriwongse Samuha Phra Kralahome, whose official authority to precede all Siamese territories, in both eastern and western shore of Malay peninsula; and his Excellency Chau Phaya, acting Phra-klang, the prime minister of foreign affairs in Siam, and bearing the office of presiding over all territories on eastern and northern shore of the gulf or bay of Siam: that they four, with his Royal Highness above named, shall have full royal and noble power to discuss the negotiations of treaties, to arrange and receive certain accent (*sic*) and to correct some old articles of treaty, to make both sides be peaceful and useful by best arrangement, which will be with his Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knight, the plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty, the Queen Victoria, of the United Kingdoms, on this

occasion, whatever the five forenamed would agree and consent, or whatever they would solicit the plenipotentiary, it shall be known and ascertained that all are agreed and consulted, and requested by us both, and all royalty and nobility of Siam.

"This was written and sealed with our both manual and stamping signs, on Sunday, the 6th day of the waning moon, in the 5th month of the Hare year, still being the number of Saccaraj, 1216, in Siam, corresponding to the 8th April, Christian era, 1855, which is still the fourth of our present reign.

(L.S.) (L.S.)

"The true translation, in English, of the royal mandates, to invest five individuals in full power of the discussion of the treaty with his Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knight, Plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty, the Queen of United Kingdom.

(L.S.) (Signed) "S. P. P. MONGKUT,
"The First King of Siam.

"Rajouty House, Grand Palace,
8th April, 1855."

The following Treaty of friendship and commerce between her Majesty and the Kings of Siam was signed at Bangkok, April 18, 1855:—

[RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT BANGKOK, 5TH APRIL, 1856.]

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and all its dependencies, and their Majesties Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha

Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the First King of Siam, and Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Pawarendr Ramesr Mahiswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau Yu Hua, the Second King of Siam, desiring to establish upon firm and lasting foundations the relations of peace and friendship existing between the two countries, and to secure the best interests of their respective subjects by encouraging, facilitating, and regulating their industry and trade, have resolved to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce for this purpose, and have, therefore, named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland; Sir John Bowring, Knight, Doctor of Laws, &c. &c.;

And their Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam, his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh; his Excellency Somdetch Chau Phaya Param Maha Puyurawongse; his Excellency Somdetch Chau Phaya Param Maha Bijai-neate; his Excellency Chau Phaya Sri Suriwongse Samuha Phra Kralahome; and his Excellency Chau Phaya, acting Phra-Klang;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

Article I.

There shall henceforward be perpetual peace and friendship between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and her successors, and their Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam, and their successors. All British subjects coming to Siam shall receive from the Siamese Government full protection and assistance to enable them to reside in Siam in all security, and trade with every facility, free from oppression or injury on the part of the Siamese; and all Siamese subjects going to an English country shall receive from the British Government the same complete protection and assistance that shall be granted to British subjects by the Government of Siam.

ARTICLE 2.

The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the regulation and control of a consul, who will be appointed to reside at Bangkok: he will himself conform to and will enforce the observance, by British subjects, of all the provisions of this treaty, and such of the former treaty negotiated by Captain Burney in 1826 as shall still remain in operation. He shall also give effect to all rules or regulations that are now or may hereafter be enacted for the government of British subjects in Siam, the conduct of their trade, and for the prevention of violations of the laws of Siam. Any disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be heard and determined by the consul, in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offences will be punished, in the case of English offenders, by the consul, according to English laws, and in the case of Siamese offenders, by their own laws, through the Siamese authorities. But the consul shall not interfere in any matter referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic Majesty.

It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British consul at Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this treaty, nor until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours, and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of this treaty.

ARTICLE 3.

If Siamese in the employ of British subjects offend against the laws of their country, or if any Siamese having so offended or desiring to desert take refuge with a British subject in Siam, they shall be searched for, and, upon proof of their guilt or desertion, shall be delivered up by the consul to the Siamese authorities. In like manner, any British offenders resident

or trading in Siam, who may desert, escape to, or hide themselves in Siamese territory, shall be apprehended and delivered over to the British consul on his requisition. Chinese not able to prove themselves to be British subjects shall not be considered as such by the British consul, nor be entitled to his protection.

ARTICLE 4.

British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of 200 sen (not more than four miles English) from the city walls, until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese Government to enable them to do so. But with the exception of this limitation, British residents in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel. In order to obtain possession of such lands or houses, it will be necessary that the British subject shall, in the first place, make application through the consul to the proper Siamese officer; and the Siamese officer and the consul having satisfied themselves of the honest intentions of the applicant, will assist him in settling, upon equitable terms, the amount of the purchase-money, will mark out and fix the boundaries of the property, and will convey the same to the British purchaser under sealed deeds. Whereupon he and his property shall be placed under the protection of the governor of the district and that of the particular local authorities; he shall conform, in ordinary matters, to any just directions given him by them, and will be subject to the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects. But if, through negligence, the want of capital, or other cause, a British subject should fail to commence the cultivation or improve-

ment of the lands so acquired within a term of three years from the date of receiving possession thereof, the Siamese Government shall have the power of resuming the property, upon returning to the British subject the purchase-money paid by him for the same.

Article 5.

All British subjects intending to reside in Siam shall be registered at the British Consulate. They shall not go out to sea, nor proceed beyond the limits assigned by this treaty for the residence of British subjects, without a passport from the Siamese authorities, to be applied for by the British consul; nor shall they leave Siam, if the Siamese authorities show to the British consul that legitimate objections exist to their quitting the country. But, within the limits appointed under the preceding article, British subjects are at liberty to travel to and fro under the protection of a pass, to be furnished them by the British consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the Government stations in the interior may, at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain those persons who, by travelling without a pass from the consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters; and such detention shall be immediately reported to the consul.

Article 6.

All British subjects visiting or residing in Siam shall be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities as shall be consented to by the Siamese authorities. The Siamese Government will place no restrictions upon the employment by the English of Siamese subjects as servants, or in any other capacity. But wherever a Siamese subject belongs or owes service to some

particular master, the servant who engages himself to a British subject without the consent of his master may be reclaimed by him; and the Siamese Government will not enforce an agreement between a British subject and any Siamese in his employ, unless made with the knowledge and consent of the master, who has a right to dispose of the services of the person engaged.

Article 7.

British ships-of-war may enter the river, and anchor at Paknam; but they shall not proceed above Paknam, unless with the consent of the Siamese authorities, which shall be given where it is necessary that a ship shall go into dock for repairs. Any British ship-of-war conveying to Siam a public functionary accredited by her Majesty's Government to the Court of Bangkok shall be allowed to come up to Bangkok, but shall not pass the forts called Pong Phrachamit and Pit-pach-nuck, unless expressly permitted to do so by the Siamese Government; but in the absence of a British man-of-war, the Siamese authorities engage to furnish the consul with a force sufficient to enable him to give effect to his authority over British subjects, and to enforce discipline among British shipping.

Article 8.

The measurement duty hitherto paid by British vessels trading to Bangkok under the treaty of 1826 shall be abolished from the date of this treaty coming into operation, and British shipping or trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be three per cent., payable at the option of the importer, either in kind or money, calculated upon the market value of the goods. Drawback of the full amount of duty shall be allowed upon goods found unsaleable and re-exported. Should the British merchant and the Custom-house officers disagree as to the value to be set upon the imported articles, such disputes

shall be referred to the consul and proper Siamese officer, who shall each have the power to call in an equal number of merchants as assessors, not exceeding two on either side, to assist them in coming to an equitable decision.

Opium may be imported free of duty, but can only be sold to the opium-farmer or his agents. In the event of no arrangement being effected with them for the sale of the opium, it shall be re-exported, and no impost or duty shall be levied thereon. Any infringement of this regulation shall subject the opium to seizure and confiscation.

Articles of export, from the time of production to the date of shipment, shall pay one impost only, whether this be levied under the name of inland tax, transit duty, or duty on exportation. The tax or duty to be paid on each article of Siamese produce previous to or upon exportation is specified in the tariff attached to this treaty; and it is distinctly agreed that goods or produce which pay any description of tax in the interior shall be exempted from any further payment of duty on exportation.

English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the interference, in either case, of any other person.

The rates of duty laid down in the tariff attached to this treaty are those that are now paid upon goods or produce shipped in Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks; and it is agreed that British shipping shall enjoy all the privileges now exercised by, or which hereafter may be granted to, Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks.

British subjects will be allowed to build ships in Siam, on obtaining permission to do so from the Siamese authorities.

Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the Siamese Government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles.

Bullion or personal effects may be imported or exported free of charge.

ARTICLE 9.

The code of regulations appended to this treaty shall be enforced by the consul, with the co-operation of the Siamese authorities; and they, the said authorities and consul, shall be enabled to introduce any further regulations which may be found necessary in order to give effect to the objects of this treaty.

All fines and penalties inflicted for infraction of the provisions and regulations of this treaty shall be paid to the Siamese Government.

Until the British consul shall arrive at Bangkok and enter upon his functions, the consignees of British vessels shall be at liberty to settle with the Siamese authorities all questions relating to their trade.

ARTICLE 10.

The British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in any privileges that may have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Siamese Government to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE 11.

After the lapse of ten years from the date of the ratification of this treaty, upon the desire of either the British or Siamese Governments, and on twelve months' notice given by either party, the present and such portions of the treaty of 1826 as remain unrevoked by this treaty, together with the tariff and regulations hereunto annexed, or those that may hereafter be introduced, shall be subject to revision by commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide on and insert therein such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

Article 12.

This treaty, executed in English and Siamese, both versions having the same meaning and intention, and the ratifications thereof having been previously exchanged, shall take effect from the sixth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six of the Christian era, corresponding to the first day of the fifth month of the one thousand two hundred and eighteenth year of the Siamese civil era.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the present treaty in quadruplicate at Bangkok, on the eighteenth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five of the Christian era, corresponding to the second day of the sixth month of the one thousand two hundred and seventeenth year of the Siamese civil era.

JOHN BOWRING.

(L S)

(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese Plenipotentiaries.)

General Regulations under which British Trade is to be conducted in Siam.

Regulation 1.

The master of every English ship coming to Bangkok to trade must, either before or after entering the river, as may be found convenient, report the arrival of his vessel at the Custom-house at Paknam, together with the number of his crew and guns, and the port from whence he comes. Upon anchoring his vessel at Paknam, he will deliver into the custody of the Custom-house officers all his guns and ammunition; and a Custom-house officer will then be appointed to the vessel, and will proceed in her to Bangkok.

Regulation 2.

A vessel passing Paknam without discharging her guns and ammunition as directed in the foregoing regulation, will be

sent back to Paknam to comply with its provisions, and will be fined 800 ticals for having so disobeyed. After delivery of her guns and ammunition, she will be permitted to return to Bangkok to trade.

Regulation 3.

When a British vessel shall have cast anchor at Bangkok, the master, unless a Sunday should intervene, will, within four-and-twenty hours after arrival, proceed to the British Consulate, and deposit there his ship's papers, bills of lading, &c., together with a true manifest of his import cargo; and upon the consul's reporting these particulars to the Custom-house, permission to break bulk will at once be given by the latter.

For neglecting so to report his arrival, or for presenting a false manifest, the master will subject himself, in each instance, to a penalty of 400 ticals; but he will be allowed to correct, within twenty-four hours after delivery of it to the consul, any mistake he may discover in his manifest, without incurring the above-mentioned penalty.

Regulation 4.

A British vessel breaking bulk, and commencing to discharge before due permission shall be obtained, or smuggling either when in the river or outside the bar, shall be subject to the penalty of 800 ticals, and confiscation of the goods so smuggled or discharged.

Regulation 5.

As soon as a British vessel shall have discharged her cargo, and completed her outward lading, paid all her dues, and delivered a true manifest of her outward cargo to the British consul, a Siamese port-clearance shall be granted her on application from the consul, who, in the absence of any legal impediment to her departure, will then return to the master his ship's papers, and allow the vessel to leave. A Custom-

house officer will accompany the vessel to Paknam; and on arriving there, she will be inspected by the Custom-house officers of that station, and will receive from them the guns and ammunition previously delivered into their charge.

Regulation 6.

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary having no knowledge of the Siamese language, the Siamese Government have agreed that the English text of these regulations, together with the treaty of which they form a portion, and the tariff hereunto annexed, shall be accepted as conveying in every respect their true meaning and intention.

JOHN BOWRING.
(L.S.)

(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese Plenipotentiaries.)

Tariff of Export and Inland Duties to be levied on Articles of Trade.

Section 1.

The undermentioned articles shall be entirely free from inland or other taxes, on production or transit, and shall pay export duty as follows:—

	Tical.	Salung.	Fuang.	Hun.	
1. Ivory	10	0	0	0	per pecul.
2. Gamboge	6	0	0	0	,,
3. Rhinoceros horns	50	0	0	0	,,
4. Cardamums, best	14	0	0	0	,,
5. Ditto bastard	6	0	0	0	,,
6. Dried mussels	1	0	0	0	,,
7. Pelicans' quills	2	2	0	0	,,
8. Betelnut, dried	1	0	0	0	,,
9. Krachi wood	0	2	0	0	,,
10. Sharks' fins, white	6	0	0	0	,,
11. Ditto black	3	0	0	0	,,
12. Lukkrabau seed	0	2	0	0	
13. Peacocks' tails	10	0	0	0	per
14. Buffalo and Cow bones	0	0	0	3	per pecul.
15. Rhinoceros hides	0	2	0	0	,,
16. Hide cuttings	0	1	0	0	,,

	Tical.	Salung.	Fuang.	Hun.	
17. Turtle shells	1	0	0	0	per pecul.
18. Soft ditto	1	0	0	0	„
19. Bêche de mer	3	0	0	0	„
20. Fish maws	3	0	0	0	„
21. Birds' nests, uncleaned	20 per cent.				
22. Kingfishers' feathers	6	0	0	0	per 100.
23. Cutch	0	2	0	0	per pecul.
24. Beyché seed (nux vomica) . . .	0	2	0	0	„
25. Pungtarai seed	0	2	0	0	„
26. Gum benjamin	4	0	0	0	„
27. Angrai bark	0	2	0	0	„
28. Agilla wood	2	0	0	0	„
29. Ray skins	3	0	0	0	„
30. Old deers' horns	0	1	0	0	„
31. Soft, or young ditto	10 per cent.				
32. Deer hides, fine	8	0	0	0	per 100 hides.
33. Ditto, common	3	0	0	0	„
34. Deer sinews	4	0	0	0	per pecul.
35. Buffalo and cow hides	1	0	0	0	„
36. Elephants' bones	1	0	0	0	„
37. Tigers' bones	5	0	0	0	„
38. Buffalo horns	0	1	0	0	„
39. Elephants' hides	0	1	0	0	„
40. Tigers' skins	0	1	0	0	per skin.
41. Armadillo skins	4	0	0	0	per pecul.
42. Sticklac	1	1	0	0	„
43. Hemp	1	2	0	0	„
44. Dried fish, *Plaheng*	1	2	0	0	„
45. Ditto *Plasalit*	1	0	0	0	„
46. Sapan wood	0	2	1	0	„
47. Salt meat	2	0	0	0	„
48. Mangrove bark	0	1	0	0	„
49. Rosewood	0	2	0	0	„
50. Ebony	1	1	0	0	„
51. Rice	4	0	0	0	per koyan.

SECTION 2.

The undermentioned articles being subject to the inland or transit duties herein named, and which shall not be increased, shall be exempt from export duty:—

	Tical.	Salung.	Fuang.	Hun.	
52. Sugar, white	0	2	0	0	per pecul.
53. Ditto, red	0	1	0	0	„
54. Cotton, clean and uncleaned .	10 per cent.				

	Tical.	Salung.	Fuang.	Hun.
55. Pepper	1	0	0	0 per pecul.
56. Salt fish, *Platu*	1	0	0	0 per 10,000 fish.
57. Beans and peas	One-twelfth.			
58. Dried prawns	One-twelfth.			
59. Tilseed	One-twelfth.			
60. Silk, raw	One-twelfth.			
61. Bees-wax	One-fifteenth.			
62. Tallow	1	0	0	0 per pecul.
63. Salt	6	0	0	0 per koyan.
64. Tobacco	1	2	0	0 per 1000 bundles.

SECTION 3.

All goods or produce unenumerated in this tariff shall be free of export duty, and shall only be subject to one inland tax or transit duty, not exceeding the rate now paid.

JOHN BOWRING.
(L.S.)
(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese Plenipotentiaries.)

Nothing could be more just to Siamese interests, nothing more creditable to the sagacity and honourable intentions of the two Kings, than was the character of the Commission appointed to discuss with me the great subjects connected with my Mission; for it was clear that my success involved a total revolution in all the financial machinery of the Government,—that it must bring about a total change in the whole system of taxation,—that it took a large proportion of the existing sources of revenue,—that it uprooted a great number of privileges and monopolies which had not only been long established, but which were held by the most influential nobles and the highest functionaries in the State. The Commission was composed of the Somdetch om

Fai, the first regent, and his brother, the Somdetch om Noi, the second regent of the kingdom. These occupy the highest official rank. The second Somdetch is the receiver-general of the revenues, and was notoriously interested in the existing system, by which production, commerce, and shipping were placed at the mercy of the farmers of the various revenues,* who paid the price of their many and vexatious monopolies either to the Royal Treasury, or to the high officials through whom those monopolies were granted. The two Somdetches had been long the dominant rulers in Siam. Their names will be found in all the commissions and councils by which have been thwarted the attempts made by various envoys from Great Britain and the United States to place the commercial relations of Siam with foreign countries on a satisfactory basis. It was they who defeated Mr. Crawfurd's Mission in 1822, and Sir James Brooke's negotiations in 1851. They were also, I believe, the main cause of the shortcomings and concessions found in Captain Burney's Treaty. Mr. Roberts's Treaty with the United States had become practically a dead letter, and it contained, in truth, no provisions to secure foreigners from molestation; while the arrangements for commercial purposes are of the most crude and imperfect character. This, perhaps, may also be attributed to the same influence which nullified the exertions of British ministers. Mr. Ballestier's attempt, in 1850, to place the relations between Siam and the United States on improved foundations was an utter failure, and was associated with many circumstances of personal annoy-

ance and humiliation. I have reason to know that both the British and American envoys pressed upon their respective Governments their urgent opinions that it was quite idle to pursue farther any negotiations in a conciliatory or pacific spirit; but that energetic warlike demonstrations and the employment of force were absolutely needful to bring the Siamese to reason, and ought undoubtedly to be employed.

Besides the Somdetches, the Kings nominated the acting prime minister (the Phra Kalahom) and the acting minister for foreign affairs (the Phra Klang). These gentlemen are the sons and nephews of the Somdetchs, and had been hitherto associated with their repulsive policy. But whether a conviction that the true interests of the country demanded a radical change in its fiscal and commercial system,—whether from a conviction that this system had already caused much discontent, and was in itself fraught with many dangers,—whether from a persuasion that the continued rejection of the friendly advances of the great maritime powers was not a safe or prudent policy,—whether apprehensions of the power of Great Britain brought nearer and nearer to Siamese territory by our continual advances in Birmah,—whether purposes of ambition, and a determination to win a deserved popularity;—whether these considerations, or any of them, influenced the two younger members, I know not; but it is certain that their influence, their energy, and, above all, the indomitable perseverance of the prime minister, brought our negotiations to a happy issue.

The King nominated his brother, the Prince Krom

Hluang Wongsa, to the presidency of the Commission; and he could not have made a wiser choice, for the prince has had much intercourse with foreigners, among whom, as with the Siamese, he is extremely popular. His influence was undoubtedly flung into the balance of an emancipating and a liberal policy; and I have reason to believe he had no sinister interest likely to prejudice or mislead.

Among many other courtesies, the King desired I would choose two elephants of any age or size I should prefer, and offered me also two ponies from the Royal stables; but, as I had no means of conveying them from Bangkok, I was obliged gratefully to decline these marks of his favour. I willingly accepted from him a bunch of hairs from the tails of white elephants which had been the cherished possession of his ancestors; and I had the honour of offering two of these hairs for the gracious acceptance of the Queen. I may also mention that, not having a Siamese flag to hoist according to established usages, I mentioned to the King that I was desirous of possessing one, in order that due honour might be shown to the national insignia. A flag was sent on the 1st April, which the King desired me to retain.

It is pleasant to remember how much we were spared the minor miseries which so generally accompany travellers in tropical regions. Even the mosquitoes caused us little annoyance. They are generally spoken of as an intolerable nuisance on the banks of the Meinam. Bishop Pallegoix says, in passing from Korajok to Bangkok—" Unfortunately we were compelled to pass the night in the canal, where we were

devoured by clouds of mosquitoes; all the night was passed in battling with them. O the misery of finding the blood sucked from every part of the body by myriads of winged insects whose venomous incision causes the flesh to swell with an intolerable itching! In the morning, the bark was covered with these plagues which we had killed during the night; and we could have filled two bushels with their remains. We were quite exhausted when we reached Bangkok, and had scarcely any blood left in our veins."*

In order to give effect to the arrangements of the Treaty, and accurately to define its intentions, Mr. Parkes, who conveyed to Siam, in the spring of 1856, the ratification of it on the part of the Queen, entered into an agreement with sundry Royal Commissioners, appointed by the King of Siam, to the following effect:—

Agreement entered into between the undermentioned Royal Commissioners, on the part of their Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam, and HARRY SMITH PARKES, Esquire, *on the part of her Britannic Majesty's Government.*

Mr. Parkes having stated, on his arrival at Bangkok, as bearer of her Britannic Majesty's ratification of the Treaty of friendship and commerce concluded on the 18th day of April, 1855, between her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and their Majesties Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the First King of Siam, and Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Pawarendr Ramesr Mahiswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau Yu Hua,

* Pallegoix, i. 83—4.

the Second King of Siam, that he was instructed by the Earl of Clarendon, her Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to request the Siamese Government to consent to an enumeration of those articles of the former treaty, concluded in 1826, between the Honourable East India Company and their late Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam, which are abrogated by the treaty first named, and also to agree to certain explanations which appear necessary to mark the precise force and application of certain portions of the new treaty;—their aforesaid Majesties, the First and Second Kings of Siam, have appointed and empowered certain Royal Commissioners, namely, his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wong-sa Dhiraj Snidh, and their Excellencies the four Senaputhics or principal ministers of Siam, to confer and arrange with Mr. Parkes the matters above named; and the said Royal Commissioners having accordingly met Mr. Parkes for this purpose on repeated occasions, and maturely considered all the subjects brought by him to their notice, have resolved—

That it is proper, in order to prevent future controversy, that those clauses of the old treaty which are abrogated by the new treaty should be distinctly specified, and that any clause of the new treaty which is not sufficiently clear should be fully explained. To this end, they have agreed to and concluded the following twelve articles:—

ARTICLE I.

On the Old Treaty concluded in 1826.

The articles of the old treaty not abrogated by the new treaty are 1, 2, 3, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 14, and the undermentioned clauses of articles 6 and 10.

In article 6, the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:—

"If a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell without inquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a

good or bad character, and if he meet with a bad man who takes the property and absconds, the rulers and officers on either side must make search and endeavour to produce the property of the absconder, and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay; but if he does not possess any, or if he cannot be apprehended, it will be the merchant's own fault, and the authorities cannot be held responsible."

Of article 10, Mr. Parkes desires to retain that clause relating to the overland trade which states—

"Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Burmese, Pegouans, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese dominions from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates." Mr. Parkes, however, desires that all British subjects without exception shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade. The said Royal Commissioners therefore agree, on the part of the Siamese, that all traders under British rule may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.

The commercial agreement annexed to the old treaty is abrogated by the new treaty, with the exception of the undermentioned clauses of articles 1 and 4:—

Of article 1, the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:—"British merchants importing fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, are prohibited from selling them to any party but the Government. Should the Government not require such fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them."

Article 4 stipulates that no charge or duty shall be levied on boats carrying cargo of British ships at the bar. The Siamese desire to cancel this clause, for the reason that the old measurement duty of 1700 ticals per fathom included the fees of the various officers. But as this measurement duty has now been abolished, the Siamese wish to levy on each native boat taking cargo out to sea a fee of 8 ticals, 2 salungs, this being the charge paid by Siamese traders; and Mr. Parkes undertakes to submit this point to the consideration of her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Siam.

Article 2.

On the exclusive Jurisdiction of the Consul over British Subjects.

The 2nd article of the treaty stipulates that "Any disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be heard and determined by the consul in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offenders will be punished, in the case of English offenders, by the consul, according to English laws, and in the case of Siamese offenders, by their own laws, through the Siamese authorities. But the consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic Majesty."

On the non-interference of the consul with the Siamese, or of the Siamese with British subjects, the said Royal Commissioners desire, in the first place, to state that, while for natural reasons they fully approve of the consul holding no jurisdiction over Siamese in their own country, the Siamese authorities, on the other hand, will feel themselves bound to call on the consul to apprehend and punish British subjects who shall commit, whilst in Siamese territory, any grave infractions of the laws, such as cutting, wounding, or inflicting other serious bodily

harm. But in disputes or in offences of a slighter nature committed by British subjects among themselves, the Siamese authorities will refrain from all interference.

With reference to the punishment of offences, or the settlement of disputes, it is agreed—

That all criminal cases in which both parties are British subjects, or in which the defendant is a British subject, shall be tried and determined by the British consul alone.

All criminal cases in which both parties are Siamese, or in which the defendant is a Siamese, shall be tried and determined by the Siamese authorities alone.

That all civil cases in which both parties are British subjects, or in which the defendant is a British subject, shall be heard and determined by the British consul alone. All civil cases in which both parties are Siamese, or in which the defendant is a Siamese, shall be heard and determined by the Siamese authorities alone.

That whenever a British subject has to complain against a Siamese, he must make his complaint through the British consul, who will lay it before the proper Siamese authorities.

That in all cases in which Siamese or British subjects are interested, the Siamese authorities in the one case, and the British consul in the other, shall be at liberty to attend at and listen to the investigation of the case, and copies of the proceedings will be furnished from time to time, or whenever desired, to the consul or the Siamese authorities until the case is concluded.

That although the Siamese may interfere so far with British subjects as to call upon the consul, in the manner stated in this article, to punish grave offences when committed by British subjects, it is agreed that—

British subjects, their persons, houses, premises, lands, ships, or property of any kind, shall not be seized, injured, or in any way interfered with by the Siamese. In case of any violation of this stipulation, the Siamese authorities will take

cognizance of the case, and punish the offenders. On the other hand, Siamese subjects, their persons, houses, premises, or property of any kind, shall not be seized, injured, or in any way interfered with by the English, and the British consul shall investigate and punish any breach of this stipulation.

ARTICLE 3.

On the Right of British Subjects to dispose of their Property at will.

By the 4th article of the treaty, British subjects are allowed to purchase in Siam "houses, gardens, fields, or plantations." It is agreed, in reference to this stipulation, that British subjects who have accordingly purchased houses, gardens, fields, or plantations, are at liberty to sell the same to whomsoever they please. In the event of a British subject dying in Siam, and leaving houses, lands, or any property, his relations, or those persons who are heirs according to English law, shall receive possession of the said property; and the British consul, or some one appointed by the British consul, may proceed at once to take charge of the said property on their account. If the deceased should have debts due to him by the Siamese or other persons, the consul can collect them; and if the deceased should owe money, the consul shall liquidate his debts as far as the estate of the deceased shall suffice.

ARTICLE 4.

On the Taxes, Duties, or other Charges leviable on British Subjects.

The 4th article of the treaty provides for the payment, on the lands held or purchased by British subjects, of "the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects." The taxes here alluded to are those set forth in the annexed schedule.

Again, it is stated in the 8th article, "that British sub-

jects are to pay import and export duties according to the tariff annexed to the treaty." For the sake of greater distinctness, it is necessary to add to these two clauses the following explanation—namely, that beside the land-tax, and the import and export duties, mentioned in the aforesaid articles, no additional charge or tax of any kind may be imposed upon a British subject, unless it obtain the sanction both of the supreme Siamese authorities and the British consul.

Article 5.

On Passes and Port Clearances.

The 5th article of the treaty provides that passports shall be granted to travellers, and the 5th article of the regulations that port clearances shall be furnished to ships. In reference thereto, the said Royal Commissioners, at the request of Mr. Parkes, agree that the passports to be given to British subjects travelling beyond the limits assigned by the treaty for the residence of British subjects, together with the passes for cargo-boats and the port clearances of British ships, shall be issued within twenty-four hours after formal application for the same shall have been made to the proper Siamese authorities. But if reasonable cause should at any time exist for delaying or withholding the issue of any of these papers, the Siamese authorities must at once communicate it to the consul.

Passports for British subjects travelling in the interior, and the port-clearances of British ships, will be granted by the Siamese authorities free of charge.

Article 6.

On the Prohibition of the Exportation of Rice, Salt, and Fish, and on the Duty on Paddy.

The 8th article of the treaty stipulates, that "whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the

Siamese Government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles."

Mr. Parkes, in elucidation of this clause, desires an agreement to this effect—namely, that a month's notice shall be given by the Siamese authorities to the consul prior to the enforcement of the prohibition; and that British subjects who may previously obtain special permission from the Siamese authorities to export a certain quantity of rice which they have already purchased, may do so even after the prohibition comes in force. Mr. Parkes also requests that the export duty on paddy should be half of that on rice—namely, 2 ticals per koyan.

The said Royal Commissioners, having in view the fact that rice forms the principal sustenance of the nation, stipulate that, on the breaking out of war or rebellion, the Siamese may prohibit the trade in rice, and may enforce the prohibition so long as the hostilities thus occasioned shall continue. If a dearth should be apprehended on account of the want or excess of rain, the consul will be informed one month previous to the enforcement of the prohibition. British merchants who obtain the Royal permission, upon the issue of the proclamation, to export a certain quantity of rice which they have already purchased, may do so irrespective of the prohibition to the contrary; but those merchants who do not obtain the Royal permission will not be allowed, when the prohibition takes effect, to export the rice they may already have purchased.

The prohibition shall be removed as soon as the cause of its being imposed shall have ceased to exist.

Paddy may be exported on payment of a duty of 2 ticals per koyan, or half the amount levied on rice.

ARTICLE 7.

On Permission to import Gold-leaf as Bullion.

Under the 8th article of the treaty, bullion may be imported or exported free of charge. With reference to this clause, the said Royal Commissioners, at the request of Mr. Parkes, agree that foreign coins of every denomination, gold and silver in bars or ingots, and gold-leaf, may be imported free; but manufactured articles in gold and silver, plated ware, and diamonds or other precious stones, must pay an import duty of three per cent.

ARTICLE 8.

On the Establishment of a Custom-house.

The said Royal Commissioners, at the request of Mr. Parkes, and in conformity with the intent of the 8th Article of the new treaty, agree to the immediate establishment of a custom-house, under the superintendency of a high Government functionary, for the examination of all goods landed or shipped, and the receipt of the import and export duties due thereon. They further agree that the business of the custom-house shall be conducted under the regulations annexed to this agreement.

ARTICLE 9.

On the subsequent Taxation of Articles now free from Duty.

Mr. Parkes agrees with the said Royal Commissioners, that whenever the Siamese Government deem it to be beneficial for the country to impose a single tax or duty on any article not now subject to a public charge of any kind, they are at liberty to do so, provided that the said tax be just and reasonable.

ARTICLE 10.

On the Boundaries of the Four-mile Circuit.

It is stipulated in the 4th article of the treaty, that "British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land,

and buy or build houses; but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of 200 sen (not more than four miles English) from the city walls until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese Government to enable them to do so."

The points to which this circuit extends due north, south, east, and west of the city, and the spot where it crosses the river below Bangkok, have accordingly been measured by officers on the part of the Siamese and English; and their measurements, having been examined and agreed to by the said Royal Commissioners and Mr. Parkes, are marked by stone pillars placed at the undermentioned localities—viz.,

On the north—One sen north of Wat Kemabherataram.

On the east—Six sen and seven fathoms south-west of Wat Bangkapi.

On the south—About nineteen sen south of the village of Bangpakio.

On the west—About two sen south-west of the village of Bangphrom.

The pillars marking the spot where the circuit-line crosses the river below Bangkok are placed on the left bank three sen below the village of Bangmanan, and on the right bank about one sen below the village of Banglampuluem.

Article II.

On the Boundaries of the Twenty-four Hours' Journey.

It is stipulated in the 4th article of the treaty, that, "excepting within the circuit of four miles, British merchants in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel."

The said Royal Commissioners and Mr. Parkes have consulted together on this subject, and have agreed that the

boundaries of the said twenty-four hours' journey shall be as follows:—

1. On the north.—The Bangputsa Canal, from its mouth on the Chow Phya River to the old city walls of Lobpary, and a straight line from Lobpary to the landing-place of Thra Phrangam, near to the town of Saraburi on the River Pasak.

2. On the east.—A straight line drawn from the landing-place of Thra Phrangam to the junction of the Klongkut Canal with the Bangpakong River; the Bangpakong River from the junction of the Klongkut Canal to its mouth; and the coast from the mouth of the Bangpakong River to the isle of Srimaharajah, to such distance inland as can be reached within twenty-four hours' journey from Bangkok.

3. On the south.—The isle of Srimaharajah and the islands of Se-chang on the east side of the gulf, and the city walls of Petchaburi on the west side.

4. On the west.—The western coast of the gulf to the mouth of the Meklong River to such a distance inland as can be reached within twenty-four hours' journey from Bangkok; the Meklong River from its mouth to the city walls of Kagpury; a straight line from the city walls of Kagpury to the town of Swbhainapury; and a straight line from the town of Swbhainapury to the mouth of the Bangputsa Canal, on the Chow Phya River.

ARTICLE 12.

On the incorporation in the Treaty of this Agreement.

The said Royal Commissioners agree, on the part of the Siamese Government, to incorporate all the articles of this agreement in the treaty concluded by the Siamese Plenipotentiaries and Sir John Bowring on the 18th April, 1855, whenever this shall be desired by her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary.

In witness whereof, the said Royal Commissioners, and the said Harry Smith Parkes, have sealed and signed this

agreement in duplicate, at Bangkok, on the thirteenth of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and of the Christian era, corresponding to the ninth day of the waxing moon of the lunar month of Wesakh in the year of the quadrupede Serpent, being the year one thousand two hundred and eighteen of the Siamese astronomical era, which is the nineteenth of her Britannic Majesty's and sixth of their present Siamese Majesties' reigns.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Royal Highness KROM HLUANG WONGSA DHIRAJ SNIDH.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency SOMDET CHAU PHYA PARAM MAHA BIJAI-NEATF.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA SRI SURIWONGSE SAMUHA PHRA KALAHOME.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA PHRAKLANG.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA YOMMORAT.

(L.S.) (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Approved,

JOHN BOWRING.

Schedule of Taxes on Garden-ground, Plantations, or other Lands.

Section 1.—Trenched or raised lands planted with the following eight sorts of fruit-trees are subject to the long assessment, which is calculated on the trees grown on the land (and not on the land itself); and the amount to be collected annually by the proper officers, and paid by them into the Royal Treasury, is endorsed on the title-deeds or official certificate of tenure.

1. Betel-nut Trees.

First class (Makek), height of stem from three to four fathoms, pay per tree . . . 138 cowries.

Second class (Makto), height of stem from five to six fathoms, pay per tree	128 cowries.
Third class (Maktri), height of stem from seven to eight fathoms, pay per tree . .	118 „
Fourth class (Makpakarai), trees just commencing to bear, pay per tree	128 „
Fifth class (Mak-lek), height of stem from one sok, and upwards to size of fourth class, pay per tree	50 „

2. Cocoa-nut Trees

Of all sizes, from one sok and upwards in height of stem, pay per three trees	1 salung.

3. Siri Vines.

All sizes, from five sok in height and upwards, pay per tree or pole when trained on tunglang trees	200 cowries.

4. Mango Trees.

Stem of four kam in circumference at the height of three sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per tree .	1 fuang.

5. Maprang Trees

Are assessed at the same rate as mango trees.

6. Durian Trees.

Stem of four kam in circumference at the height of three sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per tree . .	1 tical.

7. Mangosteen Trees.

Stem of two kam in circumference at the height of one and a half sok from the ground, pay per tree	1 fuang.

8. Langsat Trees
at the same rate as mangosteen.

NOTE.—The long assessment is made under ordinary circumstances once only in each reign, and plantations or lands having once been assessed at the above-mentioned rates, continue to pay the same annual sum, which is endorsed on the certificate of tenure (subject to the revisions granted in case of the destruction of the trees by drought or flood), until the next assessment is made, regardless of the new trees that may have been planted in the interval, or the old trees that may have died off. When the time for a new assessment arrives, a fresh account of the trees is taken, those that have died since the former one being omitted, and those that have been newly planted being inserted, provided they have attained the above-stated dimensions, otherwise they are free of charge.

Section 2.—Trenched or raised lands planted with the following eight sorts of fruit-trees are subject to an annual assessment calculated on the trees grown on the lands in the following manner, that is to say:—

1. Orange Trees.

Fine kinds (Som-kio-wan, Som-pluck-bang, Som-l'-eparot, Som-kao-sungö), stem of six ngui in circumference close to the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per ten trees . . . . . 1 fuang.

All other kinds of orange trees of the same size as the above pay per fifteen trees . . . . . . 1 „

2. Jack-fruit Trees.

Stem of six kam in circumference at the height of two sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per fifteen trees . . . .

3. Bread-fruit Trees

Are assessed at the same rate as jack-fruit trees.

4. Mak Fai Trees.

Stem of four kam in circumference at the height of two sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per twelve trees . . . .

5. Guava Trees.

Stem of two kam in circumference at the height of one kub from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per twelve trees . . . . 1 fuang.

6. Saton Trees.

Stem of six kam in circumference at the height of two sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per five trees . . . . . . 1 „

7. Rambutan Trees.

Stem of four kam in circumference at the height of two sok from the ground, or from that size and upwards, pay per five trees . . . . . . 1 „

8. Pine-apples

Pay per thousand plants . . . . . . 1 salung 1 fuang.

Section 3.—The following six kinds of fruit-trees, when planted in trenched or untrenched lands, or in any other manner than as plantations subject to the long assessment described in section 1, are assessed annually at the under-mentioned rates:—

Mangoes	1 fuang	per tree.	
Tamarinds	1	„	2 trees.
Custard apples	1	„	20 trees
Plantains	1	„	50 roots.
Siri vines (trained on poles) .	1	„	12 vines.
Pepper vines	1	„	12 vines.

Section 4.—Trenched or raised lands planted with annuals of all sorts pay a land-tax of one salung and one fuang per rai for each crop.

An annual fee of three salungs and one fuang is also charged by the Nairowang (or local tax collector) for each lot or

holding of trenched land for which an official title or certificate of tenure has been taken out.

When held under the long assessment and planted with the eight sorts of fruit-trees described in section 1, the annual fee paid to the Nairowang for each lot or holding of trenched land, for which an official title or certificate of tenure has been taken out, is two salungs.

Section 5.—Untrenched or low lands planted with annuals of all sorts pay a land-tax of one salung and one fuang per rai for each crop.

No land-tax is levied on those lands if left uncultivated.

Sixty cowries per tical are levied as expenses of testing the quality of the silver on all sums paid as taxes under the long assessment. Taxes paid under the annual assessment are exempted from this charge.

Lands having once paid a tax according to one or other of the above-mentioned rates, are entirely free from all other taxes or charges.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Royal Highness KROM HLUANG WONGSA DHIRAJ SNIDH.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency SOMDET CHAU PHYA PARAM MAHA BIJAI-NEATE.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA SRI SURIWONGSE SAMUHA PHRA KALAHOME.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA PHRAKLANG.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA YOMMORAT.

(L.S.) (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Approved,

JOHN BOWRING.

Custom-house Regulations.

1. A custom-house is to be built at Bangkok, near to the anchorage, and officers must be in attendance there between nine A.M. and three P.M. The business of the custom-house must be carried on between those hours. The tide-waiters required to superintend the landing or shipment of goods will remain in waiting for that purpose from daylight until dark.

2. Subordinate custom-house officers shall be appointed to each ship: their number shall not be limited, and they may remain on board the vessel or in boats alongside. The custom-house officers appointed to the vessels outside the bar will have the option of residing on board the ships, or of accompanying the cargo-boats on their passage to and fro.

3. The landing, shipment, or transshipment of goods may be carried on only between sunrise and sunset.

4. All cargoes landed or shipped shall be examined and passed by the custom-house officers within twelve hours of daylight after the receipt at the custom-house of the proper application. The manner in which such application and examination is to be made shall be settled by the consul and the superintendent of customs.

5. Duties may be paid by British merchants in ticals, foreign coin, or bullion, the relative values of which will be settled by the consul and the proper Siamese officers. The Siamese will appoint whomsoever they may please to receive payment of the duties.

6. The receiver of duties may take from the merchants two salungs per catty of eighty ticals for testing the money paid to him as duties, and for each stamped receipt given by him for duties he may charge six salungs.

7. Both the superintendent of customs and the British consul shall be provided with sealed sets of balance-yards,

money weights, and measures, which may be referred to in the event of any difference arising with the merchants as to the weight or dimensions of money or goods.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Royal Highness KROM HLUANG WONGSA DHIRAJ SNIDH.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency SOMDET CHAU PHYA PARAM MAHA BIJAI-NEATE.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA SRI SURIWONGSE SAMUHA PHRA KALAHOME.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA PHRAKLANG.

(L.S.) (Signed) His Excellency CHAU PHYA YOMMORAT.

(L.S.) (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Approved,

JOHN BOWRING.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERSONAL JOURNAL OF SIR JOHN BOWRING'S VISIT TO SIAM.

From March 24 to April 25, 1855.

MARCH 24.—Bay of Siam.—Saw a Siamese fishing-boat. Beckoned the master to come near us. There were four men on board, naked, except a rag of blue calico around the loins. The sails of the boat, of coarse cotton, full of holes. A stick, acting like a screw, rolled up the sail. The boat seemed to have only a few mats—no ornaments. Some green vegetables were on the deck. It was covered in like a Chinese sampan, but incomparably less comfortable, and had a look of discomfort and savagery, not calculated to produce a favourable first impression.

Our charts had misled us, and we were in the bight of the bay to the south of Point Liant, when we supposed we were in mid-channel. Crawfurd remarks that in his time the charts laid down P. Liant 16′ too much to the east; but a quarter of a century has not served to mend the error, though the Admiralty charts bear, "corrected down to 1853."

March 25.—Misty, and our real position not ascertained. No land visible. Steered N. and two junks at anchor were seen ahead. We made way towards them; hailed; sent the *sien-sang* (Chinese

teacher) aboard, who brought back a Kwantung man, from whom we learnt that there were eight feet of water on the bar at low and sixteen at high tide, but that we must have a native pilot. The bottom appears to be muddy. We anchored in four fathoms. Nothing seen of the *Grecian*. The Chinaman said he was afraid of being punished by the Siamese if he took us in, but he would do so if we promised to protect him. He stipulated nothing about his belongings, nor seemed to care for his companions whom he so abruptly proposed to leave. He said they had been away two or three years from Canton, trading about in all parts. He seems a sharp fellow, talkative, and will be an acquisition to us. He says there are European houses at the entrance of the river, and that the Governor of Paknam is a Chinese. The owners of the two junks are said to be settled in Bangkok; but the junks have generally Chinese registers, and are manned mostly by Chinamen. There were among the crew Fookien men, wearing the distinguishing turban, but the majority were from the province of Kwangtung.

March 26.—There came on board, beckoned by us, a Siamese boat. Among the crew were two or three people who seemed somewhat superior to the rest; there was a Fookien man, and three Siamese, obviously inferior, with tufted hair, who looked like very wild creatures indeed. We engaged them to escort our boat into the river, which they promised to do. They inquired how we moved on without wheels. A very beautiful kingfisher flew on board, and was secured. The three persons who said they

were *Nais* had silk trousers and a silk scarf, which was loose around their loins and which they were always setting in order. They represented themselves to be custom-house officers, and were more curious in asking questions than willing to answer ours: but they told us the King was at Bangkok. They soon placed themselves on their haunches, and crouched round us in a position of great servility. Our means of communication were intricate enough: we communicated to our mandarin teacher in Chinese; he translated into Cantonese; a Cantonese man interpreted into Fookien; and from one of the dialects of Fookien, there was an "overturning" into Siamese. The Siamese asked to see the ship, about whose decks they walked with some curiosity. After waiting an hour or two on board, they departed, and our party, consisting of Messrs. Parkes, Bowring, Caine, and suite, followed them in boats from the *Rattler* and the *Grecian*, which had joined us. Captain Keane breakfasted on board, and we discussed the arrangements for our reception. The two ships will furnish a guard of eighty to ninety men, which will make a tolerably respectable show.

March 27.—To-day, G. Caine returned with communications from H. S. P. and J. C. B. The reception they had was favourable and friendly. It appears there are two parties—one wishing to maintain the ancient restrictive system, the other willing to liberalize Siamese policy. I wish to proceed to Bangkok in the *Rattler*: if I obtain permission, it will be evidence that the more enlightened ministers have the ascendency. The presence of the Phra Klang's brother

at Paknam promises well, as does his willingness to receive the envoys. The preparations made appear all that I could expect. P. and B. write as if they were satisfied, on the whole. We shall be detained some days in order to cross the bar. Provisions and fruits are ordered to be provided for us, and the inquiries made indicate less of apprehension and distrust than might have been anticipated.

March 28.—To-day, there came a letter from the King. It was brought in an ornamented vase of gold by three high officers, one of whom spoke English. They had a quantity of fruit, sent by the King—mangoes, oranges, lichis, ananas, plantains, and several species unknown to me—all in richly-ornamented silver salvers, with a variety of sweetmeats, covered with banana-leaves. Another boat followed, with a large display of cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, one hundred fowls, ducks, pigs, eggs, rice, paddy, &c., for the use of our crews. On board this second boat was a sharp Siamese, whom they called Captain Dick, and who was said to come from the Second King, having commanded one of his ships. He was inquisitive about divers matters. The second boat brought letters from our envoys, giving a satisfactory account of all that had taken place—of the attentions shown them, and of their intercourse with the high authorities. The question under discussion seems to be, whether or not the *Rattler* shall convey me to Bangkok. The officers remained a couple of hours on board, saw the ship, and behaved in a gentlemanly way. Their own attendants crouched in their presence with extreme servility and habitual prostration. The man

who said he was of the third order of nobles, and called himself Captain Dick, came with the stores, and was very inquisitive. He said the Second King had taught him English, and, probably to elicit some complimentary admission, he remarked, "Siamese country will belong to English some day." He said the Second King had read the works of Sir Walter Scott, and had called a ship by his name. He said his Majesty had Marryat's code of merchant signals, and asked whether he could get those of the Royal Navy. He asked to see the screw of our steamer, and remarked that it looked like "the patent cog." He had been at Singapore and at Batavia, and hoped, if he came to Hongkong, that I would be civil to him. He tried to get a sword-belt from the officers, as he said he *had* a sword, but not a belt to hang it on. He ate and drank (but moderately) with the officers, and offered all sorts of services at Bangkok. He had a servant, bearing a silver teapot embossed with gold, and said nobody could use that unless he were a noble. Its cost would be about fifty dollars; the weight of the silver, forty; the rest for the gold and the workmanship. He seemed a small person in the presence of the two envoys, whom the King calls, in his letter to me, his *private* ministers.—The arrival of the white elephant seems to have created a great sensation in Bangkok. The letters from our envoys show they were not aware that any communication had come direct from the King.

Captain Keane came on board to-day to make the arrangements for the escort on my landing: I expect to have a guard of eighty to ninety persons. We are

struck with the resemblance of the Siamese to the Malay races, though with a higher polish and more gentlemanly manners; not, however, in this respect equal to the Chinese. I look upon the extreme courtesy which obviously awaits me with some distrust. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the *Rattler* will be allowed to escort me to Bangkok: it will be the first practical test. The King promises me *private* as well as *public* audiences, which, I doubt not, will be in many respects useful and instructive.

Of the fruits sent, the mangoes are delicious; so the *lichis*: the cocoa-nuts, fine; the plantains, of various qualities. There was a smooth green fruit, shaped like an egg, bearing black seeds, surrounded by a glutinous pulpy white, inside, rather pleasant to the taste; a small species of mango, another of the anana species, which were new to me. The sweetmeats sent were mangoes reduced to the consistency of soft bread—rice prepared with sugar and the juice of the cocoa-nut, by no means unpalatable.

March 29.—A native boat came out, with a Siamese on board, a captain of one of the King's ships, speaking English well. He had been in England in the service of Mr. Hunter, and as far as Shanghae in China. Like those of everybody else, his lips were red with betel. He brought me a letter from the prime minister, who had arrived at Paknam, having come from the interior in order to meet me there. His Excellency sent some hundreds of cocoa-nuts, a quantity of plantains, ten baskets of sugar, one chest of delicious tea, &c. The accounts are in all respects satisfactory. An arrangement has been made that the *Rattler* shall

follow within twenty-four hours, but that I am to be conveyed to the capital in the King's barges,—a courtesy which, they say, I must accept, to avoid giving offence. The point on which there is more fidgettiness is, lest it should be supposed by the Cochin Chinese that they (the Siamese) are giving way to menace, and they therefore urge my going to Cochin China. It is now pretty clear I shall not be able to get away for a fortnight; but the time will be well spent, if the *dénouement* be as satisfactory as the preliminary opening.

March 30.—To-day, we were visited by the son of the prime minister, Khun-Pra-Nai-way Voronal, and Phin Lorin Racha-sing, envoy from the Second King. They were accompanied by an Armenian, called Captain Joseph, speaking English well. They wore gold ornamented dresses, a sort of jacket over silk inner garments, and trousers of cotton (native prints). The former had a handsome belt of pure gold, with a hasp of many diamonds. He had an attendant, bearing a finely-decorated sword in a gold scabbard, ornamented with precious stones; and another carried an embroidered gold betel-box, from which he constantly supplied his master. They breakfasted with me, and exhibited much natural courtesy and good breeding. They had no covering for their heads, except the great tuft of hair which all the Siamese wear on the top of the skull; they were barelegged and footed. On being conducted over the ship, they showed much curiosity, especially with reference to the engines, the screw, the artillery, &c.

The Second King's envoy was very taciturn—the son of the prime minister less so. He told us his father had introduced square-rigged vessels, and that he had charge of the shipping belonging to the King. He was twenty-eight years old, and had six children. The Armenian was talkative; had been settled in Batavia, where he failed. He said the trade was small of Siam, but might be much increased; that the produce of sugar might be augmented fourfold, if encouragement were given. The sale of woollens was from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* a year; that of hardware, about the same; but the principal demand was for grey and white shirting. A young man came with them, who had passed many years in England and Scotland, where he had received a nautical education. He was taken there when only fourteen years old, but said he received letters twice a year from his friends in Europe. He exhibited a fair amount of knowledge, both of books and men, and behaved with great modesty and propriety. They left two of the most experienced pilots on board. They ate of the food that was on the table, drank wine (moderately), smoked our cigars, and showed no signs of bashfulness or embarrassment. They gave us the Siamese names of the fruits on the table:—Som, orange; som-kiou-wang, small orange; som-blok-bang, a larger sort; masang, a green fruit of the passiflora species, shaped like an egg; ma-prang, a small species of mango; nagan, the rose-apple of the Straits; sorn-o, pomelow; kiomy, plantain, &c. They told us the King had ordered engines from England, for the use of a small

steamer. We learned that friendly relations no longer existed between Siam and Cochin China. The war with Birmah flags.

In the afternoon, another messenger, Mom Phra Tai, came from the King,—an old man, of gentle demeanour and agreeable manners. He bore a second letter from his Majesty. On this, as on all occasions, the King's letters were delivered in a richly-embossed golden vase. He said many civil things about the long time the King had been expecting me, and the pleasure he felt at my arrival; and that I must make a long visit, for his Majesty had much to show me; and that everything was doing to receive me with becoming state. He brought ten bags of sugar and ten of preserved fish and venison for the crew, and for my use a chest of fine tea and several bottles of various preserves. He told me that seven of his attendants were too ill to leave the boat. He himself had never been at sea, but often took his pleasure on the waters of the Meinam. We are told by these Siamese princes that the population of Siam is about five millions, and of Bangkok about one hundred thousand; but I doubt whether these estimates can be considered as approximative to the truth. I find from the King's letter that one of yesterday's messengers had seen me in China: I did not remember him. The last visitor met Mr. Parkes and J. C. B. on the river, going up to the capital.

Captain Joseph said that the white elephant was *not* white, but rather of a flesh colour: the King was absent from the capital a fortnight to conduct her thither. They doubt whether it would be consistent

with the King's dignity to visit the ship,—but said his wish was like the voice of God, and he might do so if he liked. When I suggested that some high functionary might go on a mission to England, they said it was against the laws of Siam that any exalted personage should quit the country.

The deck of the vessel is covered with contributions from the King for my use and the use of the people. They will accept no payment for anything.

Mr. Joseph said there were seven thousand professing Catholics in Bangkok; the Protestants had had no success. The parade of the Catholic ritual, he said, was attractive to the Siamese.

A subscription is afloat for building a wall round the ground which has been given to the Protestants for a cemetery. The wall is to cost four thousand ticals.

March 31.—It is curious to see how English influences establish themselves in a country so remote as Siam. The King has found means of employing many persons able to speak English, and their histories, no doubt, would be curious. One man, who has been made a noble, was a captain, and, I believe, is now a merchant, called himself an Armenian, but was born at Ispahan. He seems to have been strangely tossed about the world, but, no doubt, is useful in Siam. He accompanied the son of the prime minister and the envoy from the Second King, on board the *Rattler*. The "private minister" of the King, who came yesterday, told me he had been taught English by Dr. Bradley, and he spoke with much propriety and correctness. One of the attendants had studied navigation at Mrs. Taylor's school in the Minories,

spoke English well, had read many English books, said he liked England, but it was not a place for a poor man to live. He had lived in a "sailors' home," he said, and was only fourteen when he left Siam. The talkative fellow who called himself Captain Dick, who had lost the vessel which belonged to the Second King, and was now "looking about" for something to do, came with one of the parties to report matters to his master, whose position is not very clear to me, as I observe he is not mentioned by the First King, who no longer signs *as* First King, but "the King of Siam." I hear from some of the functionaries who come on board that the Second King does not occupy himself so much as he used to do in nautical and mechanical studies: he may be busied with his religious cares. Some of the salted fish sent by the King was placed on the table at breakfast this morning, and pronounced excellent by everybody. The specimens sent of preserved meats in bottles are curious. The first are powdered into small fragments, looking like masses of saffron.

April 1.—Another friendly communication from the King, brought by Captain Joseph. He called my attention to a Singapore newspaper, containing an attack upon his Majesty's Government, and seemed anxious to have the first word on the subject of some complaints of the missionaries. Parkes and J. C. B. returned and informed me the authorities had wished to prevent their having communication with the missionaries, whose letters they had refused to deliver, and to whom an interview was refused; but my envoys told the Phra Klang that their intercourse must not

be restricted, and that any one wishing to have access must not have access denied. I have ceded the point as to the *Rattler* not going up to the King's Palace, but remaining opposite the British Factory.

Discussions have taken place as to the mode of reception, and Parkes very properly insists that the same ceremonial shall take place as when the ambassador of Louis XIV. arrived. They said they had no records, but wished to receive me as the envoys of Cochin China, Birmah, and other Asiatic sovereigns have been received. I did not deem this satisfactory, and therefore have written to the Phra Kalahom, representing that my position is more elevated, and that greater respect should be shown to my credentials; and I have sent a copy of my powers to the Phra Kalahom. I find he is one of forty-five brothers, and that his father was the prime minister of the late King, and is still an influential person, having the title of Senior Somdetch. It would seem this is the most potent family in the State, and are the principal persons to be conciliated. The grand difficulties will obviously be to deal with the monopolies which have destroyed the trade, and to enable our merchants to buy and sell without let or hindrance. Many restraints were put upon Parkes and J. C. B. as regards their going about; but I shall, of course, require that the right of locomotion be recognised; and after I have seen the King, that I have my doors thrown open to all who wish to see me.

At two o'clock, a messenger from the King with sundry presents—cakes of many sorts prepared for the Royal table, cigars, fruits of various kinds,—all brought on silver salvers. The letters of the King

always conveyed in a golden cup, highly ornamented—sometimes, when borne by a prince or great dignitary, having jewels in addition to the embossing. He sent, also, some phalkets, a fruit of the size of a gooseberry, gathered in the jungles, but not cultivated in gardens. The *bêl*, so salutary in cases of dysentery, was among the fruits sent. I hope these courtesies are not to be mere formalities, introductory to *nothing*, and feel the greatest anxiety with reference to the future. I pray the interests of my country may not suffer in my hands. We got safely over the bar at a quarter past four, and before sunset anchored at Paknam, where Mr. Hunter came on board, and told us we were to be visited by Phra Chau Pin Mong Kei Sriwong, the governor of the district, and brother of the prime minister. We announced our arrival by a salute of twenty-one guns, and the same number returned the salute. Soon after, the Sriwong arrived, rather a gentlemanly man, who told us he had twenty brothers and ten sisters living, and that twenty were dead.

The arrangements were discussed for our reception to-morrow. At half-past seven, we are to be received by the prime minister, Phra Kalahom; at ten he is to return the visit, and at twelve o'clock we are to start for Bangkok in the State boats, the *Rattler* to follow the next day. There were inquiries about our saluting at Bangkok, which, they seemed to think, would cause some alarm. But we said it was an honour to royalty, and our not rendering it might be a bad precedent hereafter; but that if, after proper explanation, it were the King's wish, it might possibly be dispensed with. It would be desirable, however,

that this evidence of our presence should be exhibited: I hope it will be consented to.

April 2.—Vexatious! At daybreak we were under weigh. The pilots thought we should get safely over the bar; but, there being only thirteen feet, we made slow progress through the hard sand, and at last stuck; moved on again—stuck anew: again a little progress; but the turn of the tide made the vessel unmanageable, and we finally found ourselves on the inner side of the bar, but *fast* in mud and sand. However, the ship has made herself a bed, and does *not* roll. We are taking out boats, and hope to get on by the afternoon tide. I submit, as there is no use in complaining.

What's amiss we'll strive to mend,
And endure what can't be mended.

Captain Keane came on board early, and, about ten o'clock, many of his officers. We have to settle the procession, and intend to present ourselves in half-dress to the Phra Kalahom, the grand garments being only for royalty. The deck is crowded with Siamese. The picture given by Crawfurd is a fair type of the whole. They show more inquisitiveness than the Malays, looking into the ship's characteristics. But, I hear, Captain Dick, who seemed curious enough when on board the *Rattler*, and there expressed admiration of all he saw while in the presence of the superior officers, changed his tone to the *nil admirari* when he got among his own people and among *our* subordinates, and then said he did not think much of the ship. So, a Chinaman, when he has satisfied his inquiries with respect to any extraordinary novelty,

is pretty sure to say, "All same Peking
admitting that we possess anything better than th

The mangroves grow down to the river's edge, though there are several feet of water along the banks. On ascending the river, a fort is visible in the middle of the stream, near which is a white pagoda. The different flags which rise over the green trees are pretty objects. We remarked a boat, rowed by about twenty people in the uniform of the Cochin Chinese, the boat itself being of the Cochin Chinese model, which brought Mr. Hunter, the interpreter. We saluted the fort with twenty-one guns: they returned the same number. The forts, coloured white, seemed well armed and manned, and the soldiers had European, or rather Sepoy, uniforms. As yet everything is agreeable and gracious, nothing wanting in the way of external marks of civility.

When we entered the river, Mr. Joseph came on board to arrange our reception by the prime minister, who was waiting to welcome me; and arrangements for my landing were made for to-morrow (3rd) at half-past seven A.M.

April 3rd.—At half-past seven, several boats, highly ornamented, and rowed each by thirty-four rowers, came to the *Rattler*. I landed, with my suite, and Captains Keane and Mellersh, with many other officers, under a royal salute of twenty-one guns to the Siamese flag. We were met at the wharf by a general, dressed in an old English court-dress; and a body of troops, with a strange band of music, was drawn up. Thousands of persons were present, all in a prostrate state; and a park of artillery, exceedingly well

fired, returned the salute of twenty-one guns. The Prime minister, Phra Kalahom, was on the highest stage of the reception-room—a large erection of bamboos specially raised for the purpose. There was a chair, on which he took his seat, placed on a gold richly-ornamented rug. My chair was placed opposite to him, and I explained to him my objects in visiting the country, and that they were of an amicable and honourable character. There were spread on a table a great quantity of viands, which were afterwards sent to the ship. Cigars were introduced, and many inquiries made as to the names and conditions of the gentlemen present. Both when we landed and when we departed, arms were presented by the troops through whose lines we passed. Never was such music—fifes, drums, and a fiddle, played by the most grotesque-looking figures imaginable. The Phra Kalahom was dressed in a long golden jacket, with a belt of flexible gold highly ornamented with diamonds. Many embossed golden articles were about, such as betel-nut cases, cigar-boxes, spittoons, &c.

At twelve o'clock, eight State boats, and six accompanying boats, came to escort us to Bangkok. Mine was magnificent: it had the gilded and emblazoned image of an idol at its prow, with two flags like vanes grandly ornamented. Near the stern was a raised carpeted divan, with scarlet and gold curtains. The boat was also richly gilded, and had a tail like a fish. Many of the boats were painted to resemble fishes, with eyes in the stern, and had long tails. The captain stood at the head; but the boat was steered by two persons with oars, who continually excited the

rowers to exert themselves, and called up the spirit of the most active competition. The shouts were sometimes deafening, as boat after boat responded to the appeal. In most particulars the procession resembled that of the French ambassador La Loubère from Louis XIV., and the pictorial representations given by him are very accurate. One of the songs sung had for its burden, "Row, row, I smell the rice"—meaning the meal at the end of the journey. They often dipped their drinking-vessels into the river and partook of the brackish waters. The boats had from twenty to forty rowers, all clad in scarlet faced with green and white, with a curious helmet-like cape, having two tails pendent over the shoulders. We estimated that five hundred men must have been engaged. They serve in vassalage four months in the year, and are freed from servitude during the remaining eight.

Kite-flying seemed a popular amusement along the banks,—kites (without tails) in the shape of stars, and with tails of sundry devices—not, perhaps, so varied as those of the Chinese; nor did I observe any musical kites, as in China.

At ten o'clock, his Excellency returned my visit. Our conversation was limited to *generalia*. He said, however, that the King would not confer upon him powers so extensive as those which had been granted to me by my Sovereign; that England was the power that Siam was principally to look to, and that he was glad I was come alone, as the presence of other ministers might lead to the discussion of matters in which England was not concerned. This was in answer to an observation of mine, that the three

Powers having treaties with China were acting together. He said that Siam was a small and poor country, that there were not lands enough to produce largely. I answered that her productive powers were very great, and only required to be encouraged. He said, in discussing matters with me, he felt his own inexperience and want of knowledge; but throughout the whole discussion he exhibited consummate address and ability. When he looked into the cabin of the steamer, a pretty picture of the captain's wife was pointed out to him, and he said such memorials of distant friends are sad from the thought of absence being connected with them. He asked whether Captain Keane or Mellersh would take two of his family into the ships to learn the art of navigation. We told him the admiral's permission must be asked for this; but I assured him that if he would send one or two of his relations to England, I would show them all attention, and offer any assistance for their nautical studies. He said he would like to send them to Hongkong.

The appearance of the river is beautiful, crowded with the richest vegetation to the water's edge. Now and then a bamboo hut is seen amidst the foliage, whose varieties of bright and beautiful green no art could copy. Fruits and flowers hang by thousands on the branches. We observed that even the wild animals were scarcely scared by our approach. Fishes glided over the mud-banks, and birds either sat looking at us as we passed, or winged their way around and above us. The almost naked people sat and looked at us as we glided by; and their habitations were generally marked out by a small creek, with a

rude boat and one or more pariah dogs. As we approached Bangkok, floating houses became more and more numerous. They are raised on piles of bamboos and moored to the shores: they are the shops and bazaars as well as the dwellings of the inhabitants. In front of some of the superior edifices we observed a great number of ladies waiting to see the procession, among whom the wives of the Phra Klang were pointed out to us. Many of the priests (talapoins) sat upon the rafts and wharves before their temples. We had remarked one solitary talapoin steering a miserable boat.

At Praklan we were struck by the enormous and formidable chains and wood-work which had been made to protect the river, and which at one time, we were informed, might be used to stop our progress: but, instead of an impediment, we found a major-general, wearing gold and silver flowers on the side of his round hat, he being clad in a jacket of purple silk with gold ornaments, and telling us he spoke Portuguese, and was descended from Portuguese ancestry, but he had never left Siam. He says there are a thousand Portuguese settled in the country. Roasted pigs, ducks, and a great variety of meats and sweetmeats, fruits in profusion—fine mangoes, plantains, oranges, lichis—dried dates from China, with tea and other appliances, arrested us on our way, and we had all the embarrassments of superfluous table luxuries around us. After being detained about half an hour, we proceeded up the river in great glee.

We arrived at about six o'clock. The fire-flies were visible in sparkling multitudes. The almost

human voice of the Geeko lizard was frequently heard. The crows cawed loudly, and the pariah dogs barked more loudly still. There seems in these tropical climates such a wonderful vitality in animal and vegetable life, such a power and an enjoyment, that man counts for less than elsewhere in the great scale of nature. An insect, an animal, a tree, are very different existences from what we see them in our all-depressing climes.

The Phra Klang sent me wreaths of beautiful flowers, and various fruits.

In the evening, two messengers, one of them the adopted son of the King, brought a letter from his Majesty, to desire that I would consider them as his peculiar personal friends.

These gentlemen asked for a private interview. One, I learnt, was the King's favourite, and the King spoke of him as an "adopted son." He said the King would be glad if the salute were dispensed with, or delayed until he could publish a proclamation to prevent the people from being alarmed, as otherwise he apprehended it would have an injurious effect upon the inhabitants not accustomed to such noise, and that it would spread through the country that we were come as enemies. It was arranged that the salute should take place at the time of the interview. With respect to the interview, I stipulated that I should occupy the place of the highest nobles, inferior only to the princes of the blood; that I should address the King through an interpreter in presenting my credentials. The King says that, when the ceremony is disposed of, he will see me frequently. I

asked about the Second King, and find the same cere-monials have to be gone through, but on another day. The messengers told me that the King would confide the treaty to his ministers, the principal being the Somdetch, uncle of the Phra Kalahom. I said it would be inconvenient to discuss a treaty with many, and that it had better be confided to one, who might consult the others on any points of difficulty. They replied that the Phra Kalahom would be really the person to manage these matters, though the King intended to nominate a council of five.

April 4.—This morning enjoyed a bath at six o'clock. Before breakfast, Sarruphet Phaedy brought a letter from the King, saying that, having considered the matter of the salute, he thought it best to issue a proclamation, which he sends me, and to allow it to take place and to be answered from the fortifications, which I am glad of on every account. He also suggested a private interview previous to the public reception, so it is arranged I shall go this evening. This interview Sarruphet desired might be kept secret; but, soon after, Mr. Joseph came and talked publicly about it. It is settled for half-past seven P.M. More presents of flowers and fruits from the Phra Klang.

I am located in the building called the English Factory; but the building has been reconstructed, and put in good order for my reception. I occupy two apartments above—a sitting-room, large and airy, and a bed-room, which has been newly papered, in which I sleep in a bed which is ornamented with drapery of cloth of scarlet and gold, and from which garlands of

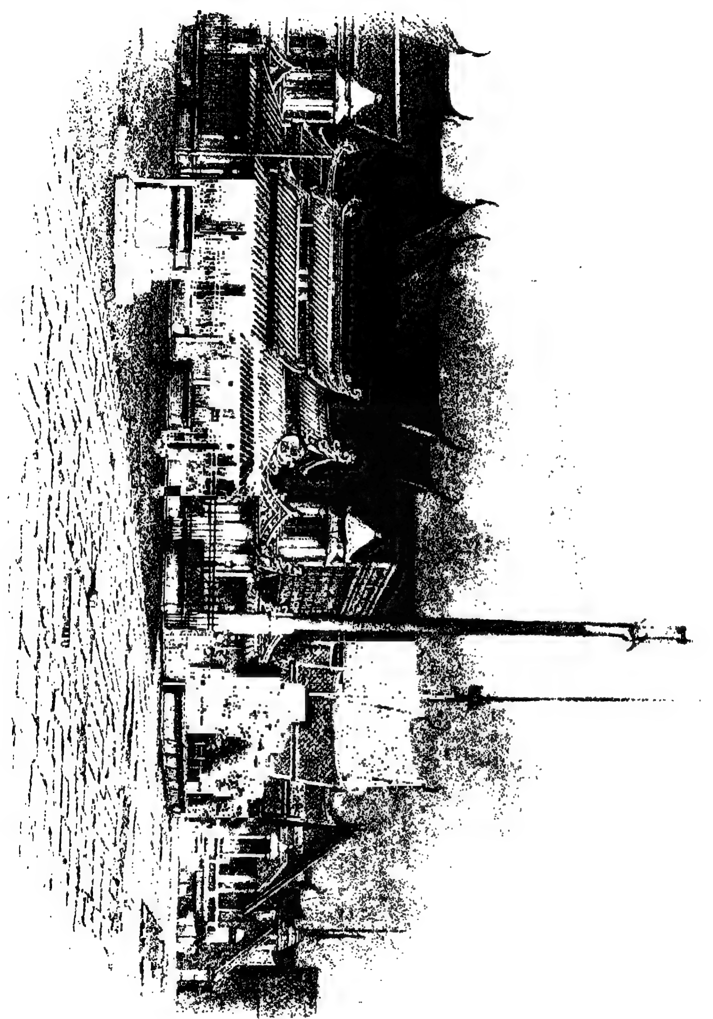
Lanterns are suspended. Jars of fresh water are placed on my table, with bouquets of roses; and a Siamese servant speaking English has me in special charge.

The *Rattler* arrived at one o'clock, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns. The King had requested that some of his officers might be present to witness the salute, and they are afterwards to go on board the *Rattler*. As far as I can learn, the arrangements for my entertainment have been confided to the care of Mr. Hunter.

In the afternoon, wandered through the streets and into some of the temples of Bangkok. Many of the women were employed in yellowing their children with turmeric. Does the appropriation of this colour for the garments of the talapoins give it a peculiar value in the eyes of the people? The walls of the temples are covered with paintings, religious and historical. The priests were never uncivil, but often looked at us with a vacant, uninterested stare. It is their profession to be indifferent to worldly things, and the *show* of contemplation is, to a great extent, the *substance* of religious character. When that character resolves into self-abstracted musings, what is its real value to mankind? It is but gross egotism, evidencing the religious sentiments in no benevolent or beneficent shape; for who is the better for the unrevealed thoughts or undivulged meditations even of the profoundest philosophers?

The King's boat arrived at a quarter before eight P.M. to convey me to the palace; and on landing at the wooden pier on the other side of the river, I was conveyed by eight bearers in an ornamented chair to

the first station. It was a semi-official reception. The troops were drawn out in several parts of the palace. We were escorted by hundreds of torch-bearers through a considerable extent of passages and open grounds, passing through gates, at each of which was a body of guards, who "presented arms" in European fashion. When we reached one of the outer buildings near the palace walls, a brother of the Phra Kalahom met us, and we were desired to wait the pleasure of the King. Two golden ewers containing pure water were brought in, and a note from his Majesty desiring I would leave my companions, H. S. P. and J. C. B., until they were sent for: I was to come on alone. The major-general marched before me, and told me that within the palace about a thousand persons resided, but that in the ladies' part there were no less than three thousand women. The abject state of every individual exceeds belief. While before the nobles, all subordinates are in a state of reverent prostration: the nobles themselves, in the presence of the Sovereign, exhibit the same crawling obeisance. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, a messenger came, bearing a letter for me, and a pass, in the King's hand, allowing me to pass the guards; and I was informed that without such credentials no individual could approach. It was a beautiful moonlight, and in an open space, on a highly ornamented throne, sat his Majesty, clad in a crimson dress, and wearing a head-dress resplendent with diamonds and other precious stones, a gold girdle, and a short dagger splendidly embossed and enriched with jewels. His



reception of me was very gracious, and I sat opposite his Majesty, only a table being between us. The King said ours was an ancient friendship, and I was most welcome. His Majesty offered me cigars with his own hand, and liqueurs, tea, and sweetmeats were brought in. An amicable conversation took place, which lasted some time; after which Mr. Parkes and Mr. Bowring were sent for, and seated in chairs opposite the King. He asked them questions about their own history and position. The observations of the King which I remember were to the effect that the discussion of a treaty would be left to four nobles—the two Somdetches (the father and uncle of the prime minister, but related to the Royal family by mother's blood), the Phra Kalâhom, the Phra Klang: and I urged on the King that my public reception might take place without delay, so that those gentlemen might be officially authorized to act, or otherwise begged to be allowed to discuss matters with them connected with the treaty. The King said, so many arrangements had to be made that the public reception could not take place till Monday; but that, in the mean time, I might discuss the conditions of the treaty with the Phra Klang, and give him my views in writing. I said, it would be better that written documents should follow than precede discussion, as I should be more embarrassed in proposing matters probably not attainable, and the ministers would feel compromised by rejecting formal propositions of mine. The King agreed to this. I went over the proceedings of the various negotiations which had taken place. Mr. Crawfurd's, he said, was from the East India Com-

pany, and that Mr. Crawfurd's position, as an envoy from the Governor-General of India, was different from mine, as sent by the Sovereign of England; that Captain Burney's Mission grew principally out of local questions between the Siamese and their neighbours; and that when Sir James Brooke came, the late King was sick, and not willing to attend to such matters. The point which the King pressed was the effect the treaty would have upon the Cochin Chinese, who would represent them as making humiliating concessions to foreigners, which the Cochin Chinese would never do. I said, I would go to Cochin China whenever I could settle affairs in China itself; that it was a small and unimportant country, with little trade; and that though I respected his Majesty's susceptibilities with reference to a neighbouring State, he could be only strengthened by a treaty with England which led to the development of the resources of Siam.

His Majesty said that, after the treaty was made, he would send an ambassador to England, and hoped he would be kindly received by the Queen and the Court He asked me whether it would be better to send him round the Cape in one of his own ships, or by the overland route. I said that the overland route was shorter, and would allow the ambassador to see many foreign countries on his way. I inquired whether he would call at Calcutta, and the King said *that* should be considered afterwards. I assured the King that all respect and kindness would be shown him, and that the various elements of the power and civilization of England would be accessible to him.

In the course of conversation, the King spoke of the Catholic Bishop as his very particular friend. I asked him who spoke Siamese best, of the foreigners here. He said that Captain Joseph spoke very well, and so did some of the American missionaries. The King asked me if there were any medical men in the ships. I said there were, and that their services would be at his Majesty's disposal. He said the names of the apartments of his palace were taken from the Sanscrit, and that he would show me the Buddha of which he had sent me the picture. He said he would see me whenever I wished; and I answered that I was always at his Majesty's orders, and should be delighted to see him as often as was convenient. The interview with the King lasted a little more than two hours.

I received a letter from the Second King, sent before dinner, with a profuse supply of fruit, and answered the King that I hoped to see him immediately after my audience with the First King, or before, if privately.

April 5.—A funeral procession passed up the river this morning. It consisted of a number of boats, whose masts were ornamented with tufts of yellow flowers; and the music of the tom-tom and of wind instruments accompanied their progress. Two larger boats, of the more ornamented sort, closed the march. In the last, and by far the largest, was the corpse, on its way to the burning. There must have been from fifty to sixty rowers: about the centre was an elevated daïs, as usual.

Sent a message to the Phra Klang that I was desirous of seeing him on public affairs, and wrote to the

Second King, telling him that I should be glad to visit his Majesty privately at any time, and publicly after the audience with the First King.

A letter from the King, enclosing a farewell letter to his Majesty, from Colonel Butterworth, governor of the Straits Settlements, announcing the appointment of Mr. Blundell as his successor. Colonel Butterworth speaks of a son of the First King as heir to the throne, of whom we have never before heard, but understood that the Second King was to be the First King's successor. The King sends his cards to the two gentlemen who accompanied me, and expresses satisfaction with the interview of last evening. His messengers afterwards came, and I agreed with them that there should be another reception to-morrow.

The Catholic missionaries of the French Propaganda came, headed by Monseigneur Miche, the Bishop of Cambodia. He lives at a place two leagues from Udong (the capital), called Powhahu. Bishop Pallegoix is expected from Europe very soon. The others were MM. Clemenceau the pro-vicaire, Dupont, and Dunest. They gave a list of their whole body in the Siamese Mission—Larenaudie, Gibarta, Lequeux, Marin, Ducas, Tessier, and Georgel. There is one, M. Ranfaing, fixed at Chantabun, one hundred leagues distant from Bangkok. Monseigneur represents the Cambodians as paying tribute to both the Cochin Chinese and the Siamese, and equally afraid of both. He says that persecutions against the Catholics are actively carried on in Cochin China, especially against *native* Catholics.

At half-past five o'clock the Phra Klang came, and I

opened the whole subject of the general conditions of commercial treaties. He made many difficulties about the nomination of a consul, and wished that, at all events, it should be deferred until there was a certain amount of trade. I said I would delay the time when the treaty was to have effect, but I could not allow an irregular trade to grow up, which would embarrass the Government and myself with questions which ought to be settled by competent authority on the spot. As I was most desirous of discussing matters with the Phra Kalahom, the Phra Klang agreed to call for me at eight o'clock P.M., when we went together to the Kalahom's palace, a beautiful building on the left bank of the river. We had a conversation respecting the proposed treaty, which lasted four hours, till half-past twelve A.M. His Excellency also pressed much the necessity of our opening the trade with Cochin China; and I promised to attend to this as soon as I was able, after consulting with the Admiral and the other foreign ministers in China. Again and again, the Kalahom said he wished that the treaty should benefit the people; that the Government could make the sacrifice of revenues for two or three years, and wait for the beneficial results which trade would bring with it. He insinuated, more than once, that if there were difficulties, they would be from other quarters. He doubted if his Majesty would confer powers such as I hold to settle the terms of a treaty; that his Majesty was particularly susceptible about the Cochin Chinese, who would tell the ignorant people the Siamese had yielded to us. I could only say, I would arrange with the French minister and the British

admiral about a visit to Cochin China when the fleet was more at my disposal, and that the fact of their having a treaty with us would not weaken, but strengthen, the Siamese Government.

The prime minister's palace is a neat building. Guards presented arms as we passed. We were first taken into a large hall, whence, after sitting for some time, we were conducted upstairs, and found our captains at table. After presenting us with garlands of flowers, wines, and refreshment, we withdrew (H. S. P., J. C. B., and myself) to an inner room, where the only persons present were the Phra Klang, the son of the Kalahom, and a servant or two. The discussions lasted about four hours and a half.

April 6.—I had requested Mr. Parkes to arrange for the provisioning the table, &c., and the Siamese authorities had consented to this; but this morning, when the accustomed presents of fruits and flowers came from the King, his Majesty also sent four hundred ticals (50*l.*) in money, to pay the expenses of the tables, &c. I have been obliged to write to his Majesty, humbly requesting he will permit me to return these pecuniary gifts, and at the same time have asked him to allow the *Rattler* to come up to the residence, for the convenience of the officers and for the health of the seamen.

The most characteristic part of the Siamese social system is the position of the priesthood, commonly called the talapoins. While everything else is prostrate before authority, they appear, multitudinous though they are, the objects of universal reverence. Though living upon alms, they bend to no superior.

They exhibit the utmost disregard to all external objects, and appear reduced to the condition of ambulatory statues. In the temples they personify an absolute self-absorption, and scarcely turn their eyes on any object, however novel or exciting. On the whole, the expression of their countenances is vulgar and unintellectual. Their contemplative habits seem the annihilation, instead of the development, of mental action. To say the best, their religion is but harmless and useless,—a dream instead of a life, and a life unavailing as a dream. A few such might not exercise a very pernicious influence; but when a whole nation is impregnated with the notion that such an unmeaning existence is the most acceptable tribute that can be offered to the Supreme Spirit, it would seem impossible that any active or operative civilization should stir up the elements of competition, or effect any permanent and general improvement.

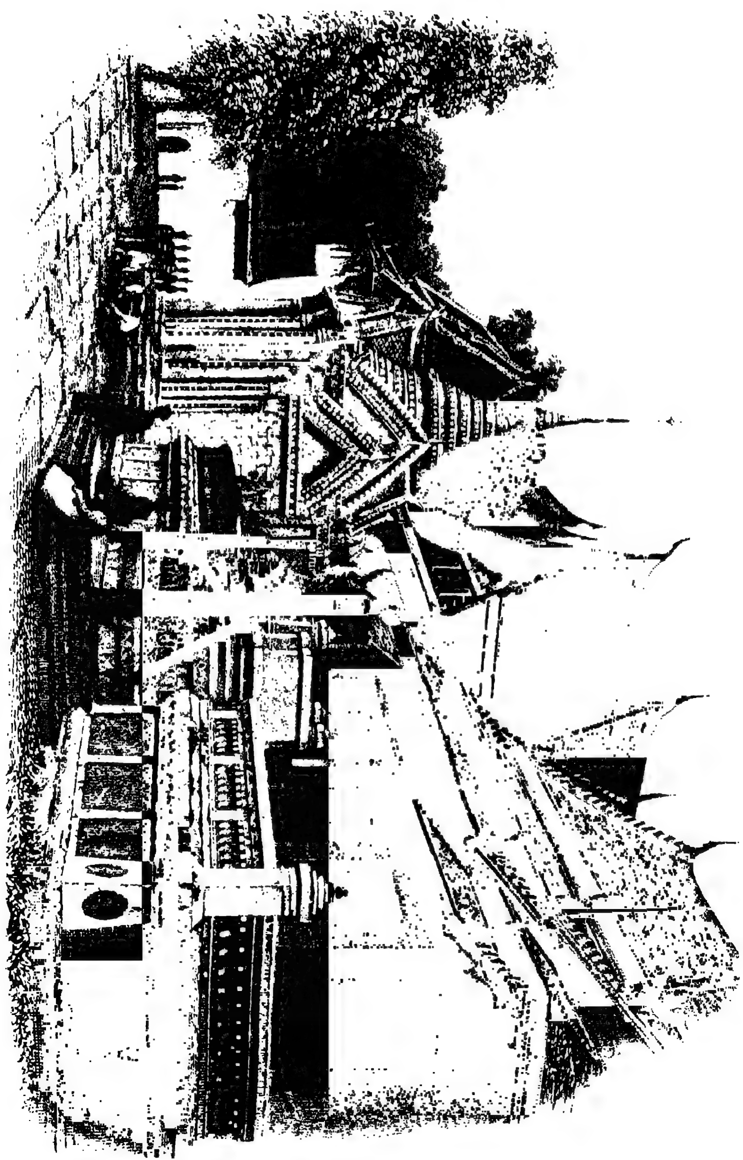
A letter arrived from the Second King, fixing my visit to him officially for Wednesday (Tuesday being a sacred day); and as he is unwell, he will appoint another day for a private audience.

Paid, at five o'clock, a visit to the Somdetch. Soldiers presented arms at the entrance of his palace; and in the inner court were guards, clad in yellow, bearing pikes. The Kalahom and Phra Klang were there. Tea and sweetmeats, and cigars, as usual, and crowds of prostrate attendants of different ranks. There were tw[illegible] or thirty children, almost naked, at his right hand. He is sixty-eight years old, and he told us he had one hundred living descendants, many of the fo[illegible] generation. He spoke of tr[illegible] as the

source of riches, and said he had five ships, trading with China, Singapore, and Java. He had not received any orders from the King on the subject of the treaty. He asked if I had seen his temple and gardens, and promised to send a guide to accompany us thither to-morrow morning at six o'clock. He grew coffee, and would send a sample. He had been present at the different receptions of Crawfurd, Burney, and others. He asked how long I had been in Hongkong, and about my family, and requested Parkes to protect his ships if they went to Amoy. He said that Siam did not produce enough to fill the ships that come hither, and remarked that the produce might be greatly increased, and that it was by the interchange of articles that nations became rich, and strong, and respected. But he is one of the principal patrons of and profiters by the existing monopolies.

The steamer is to come up to-morrow at ten o'clock. The Kalahom and other nobles will go on board to accompany her.

Eleven P.M.—Returned from a visit to the King. I have not come away with so favourable an impression as I anticipated. On the matter of treaties, his Majesty said it would be left to the ministers. He reverted again and again to Cochin China, and wanted to engage me in promises connected with that country, all of which I avoided. When I reached the landing-place, the chair, with a bearer of a huge umbrella, conveyed me within the palace courts, through hundreds of torch-bearers, the soldiers placed at different spots "presenting arms" to the order given



in English. On reaching the reception place, the King came forward. Two little children of the King were playing on a crimson and gold carpet, who screamed at my approach, and were taken away. They seemed to wear nothing except wide-brimmed hats, which covered their heads. He took me to his private apartments, ornamented with beautiful pendules and watches, statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, handsome barometers, thermometers, &c. He then led me through two or three small chambers, where were fine specimens of Chinese porcelain services, and other costly decorations. Almost everything seemed English. There were many new books on the shelves. The King spoke of the history of Siam, and said it was rather obscure and fabulous, but that the more veracious portion went back about five hundred years; that the Siamese alphabet had been introduced about that time. Inscribed on the apartments to which his Majesty had conducted me, were the words "Royal Pleasure" in English, and in Sanscrit characters with the same meaning. He asked if I should like to hear Siamese music. On my answering yes, a number of young people (I could not distinguish the boys from the girls) played some rather pretty and plaintive airs, and interluded them with songs, which were less wild and monotonous than I should have expected. His Majesty then conducted me to the hall of audience, leading me by the hand wherever we went, amidst the prostrate nobles, crawling about, or bending their heads in the dust in his presence. A good deal of the conversation was repetition of the assurances of his personal esteem for me;

but I fear in all a system of do-little, or as-little as possible, policy, which I must meet either by obtaining what I can without delay; or, if what I can obtain be not worth the visit, I shall put off the treaty altogether, and consider this visit as one of courtesy, preliminary to a more important one hereafter. Two circumstances displeased me:—The King set aside the arrangement made yesterday with the Phra-Kalahom respecting the steamer's coming up to-day, on the ground that on Thursday, New-year's day, there was a great procession, when her presence in the neighbourhood would be against the laws of Siam, and said she could come up on Friday next. I did what I could to remove the King's objections, but failed. And secondly, with reference to the money which his Majesty had sent for the expenses of my entertainment (four hundred ticals). He said it was an affair of the nobles, always usual, but that the value might be returned to the prime minister in any way; but that it had been ever the rule for the Siamese to pay the charges of foreign embassies.

The King inquired about the discovery of the planet Neptune: said, "You have two terms,—one, the vulgar—leap-year, and another, the classical—bissextile,—when February has twenty-nine days." He mentioned both the Latin and English names for the signs of the Zodiac—explained to me that the sacred days of the Siamese were those of the four quarters of the moon. He said he had a small magic lantern, but not a good one. He inquired if it were true that the Cochin Chinese having received the thanks of Queen Victoria for kindness to wrecked seamen, had

sent a golden lion in return for those thanks. He said he should write a history of his times in English; and I offered him the aid of Mr. Bell, but he did not welcome the suggestion. He gave as a reason for having fixed Monday for the audience, that the astrologers had declared it would be an auspicious day. The King closed the conversation rather abruptly, as I am told is his habit, saying it was late—half-past ten P.M.

April 7.—Walked this morning in the Somdetch's garden: it is large and wild—had a good deal of coffee growing, of which he sent me two bags as a sample. The Kalahom called at ten o'clock, and we had much general talk about the treaty. He had had no formal notice that he was to be one of the commissioners. He said the existing system was very ruinous and bad, that the people were overtaxed and unhappy, and that the best thing would be to get rid of all the monopolies—that they were pernicious to the country, that the trade was reduced to nothing. He said he would show all the facts to H. S. P. and J. C. B., and they are appointed to meet him this evening at half-past seven P.M. for preliminary discussion. He said the principal opponents were the nobles, who are interested in the existing state of things, and who would not be willing to surrender their privileges. I doubt whether any good will be done, and I am more out of spirits than I expected to be. The King is a man no doubt wonderfully self-instructed, but that he should appreciate the great truths of political science one could hardly expect.

The Phra Kalahom came in the morning, and I told him of the change proposed by the King as to the steamer. He said he saw no sufficient reason for it, and wished me to write again to the King. I objected, as it was a mere matter of personal convenience. He said he would go to the palace and try to arrange it. Meanwhile, one of the King's pages, son of the junior Somdetch, came in, and promised to speak about it when he got to the palace. At one o'clock, however, the King's private messenger came, and after expressing the desire of the King to please me, and trying to get my concurrence in delaying it till Friday, at all events till Monday, I carried the point, and the steamer is to come up at five o'clock to-day. As many Siamese officers as like to go are to be there. I promised she should drop down on Thursday, if the King wished it.

The conversation with the Kalahom was very interesting. He eschewed delay; he said, if it depended upon him, everything should be settled in two hours. He promised to see H. S. P. and J. C. B. this evening, and to give them all the information they could desire. I told him much depended upon himself. He said his heart and wishes were with me; that, for the good of the people, he desired a total change: he was very busy, but would at any time see me—best in the evening—to discuss matters, and do all that could be done. Either he is a consummate hypocrite, or a true patriot: in any case, he is a most sagacious man, towering far above every other person whom we have met—of graceful, gentlemanly manners,

and appropriate language. His son, too, is very desirous of instruction, and is quite popular with our officers.

A great number of noblemen went on board the steamer, and she arrived soon after five o'clock in front of the factories. Among the personages on board were one of the King's brothers, the first Somdetch, the prime minister, his son, some of the King's pages, and crowds of attendants. The second Somdetch was in his boat behind. Multitudes of people looked on with great astonishment as she moved up against the tide.

I have decided on my course of proceeding—to leave at the next spring-tide. If I can get a treaty, well; if not, I will not consent to delay, but shall simply state I cannot give more time to the object, but will return to Siam when I have consulted with my colleagues of France and the United States, and the British admiral. The Kalahom said to-day that there was no reason for delay, that *he* wished to have the matter settled, and he repeated that it might be settled in two days. I told him that I should put on all possible pressure as soon as the King had armed his commissioners with authority; that I would meet his difficulties willingly, and allow time for the treaty to come into operation, but I was not likely to modify the principal points which were the foundation of all commercial treaties. I feel much distrust as to the result, and perhaps, after all, shall have to be satisfied with the progress made, and with obtaining for the representative and flag of the Queen a reception far

more gratifying than it has before met with in the Meinam. The foundation is, at all events, laid for a better state of things.

April 8.—Last night, a man, the fiddler of the crew of the *Grecian*, was drowned. We were told he had been saved by the assistance of the Kalahom's boats—the Kalahom being on board the *Rattler* at the time of the accident; but this morning we learnt the sad truth. He is said to have been a general favourite.

At daybreak, went to see one of the large pagodas of Bangkok. They are ornamented in a barbaric style of gorgeousness; hideous figures of every sort are stuck round them. They are decorated with numerous bells, suspended from the prominent corners, whose music, as they vibrate to the winds, is not unpleasing. The central buildings have many smaller temples and smaller pagodas round them; and they all stand in large gardens, distributed about which are the dwellings of the phra, or priests. A hint was conveyed to the captain of the *Rattler* to-day that the Phra Klang would like to buy the Birmese idols he had seen in the engine-room of the steamer—to redeem them from the slavery and degradation to which they were exposed, as this would be a meritorious act, and entitle him to recompence from Buddha. In one of the temples, we saw the impress of Buddha's foot, in which there were offerings of a small silver Buddha clad in yellow, and a few fragrant flowers were strewed. On one of the walls, the horrible pictures of the Buddhist hells were painted. One man was undergoing the operation of eating his private parts, as a punishment for incontinence; a

glutton was seen reduced to starvation; a wine-bibber was laid on his back, exposed to the burning sun; a liar had his tongue cut out; an incompetent doctor was being squeezed to death under the stone with which they prepare their medicines. Flaying, scalping, burning alive, and multitudinous other horrid forms of death, were being inflicted, most of them having reference to some particular crime committed in the body.

The priests were returning from their collection of rice and betel—most of them carry an iron pot and wallet. We see people standing in the street giving them these offerings as they pass; the giver bent on his knees, the priests exhibiting no thankfulness, nor even complacency towards their benefactors. How can a nation be elevated under the influences of such a religious system—and how is a religious system to be rooted out of the national mind, in which it forms a part almost of existence itself? I observe the American Baptist missionaries state, that of twenty-two missionaries sent out, only five remain in the field; that the number of native Church members was thirty-four; and that, independently of the yearly cost of the mission, a loss of fifteen thousand dollars had been incurred by the burning of the premises in 1853.

The two King's pages arrived to discuss matters of arrangement for to-morrow. These communications ought to come through the Phra Klang, or foreign minister, and so I told them. They were informed that as regards my private visits to the King, I should always come as a friend, and in any way he

wished; but where State affairs and the Queen's business were concerned, everything must be done according to the proper forms of etiquette, and all respect must be shown to the representative of the Sovereign of Great Britain: and as the object was to induce the officers to leave their swords on entering the interior of the palace, I could not consent to this, for that the French ambassador in the time of Louis XIV. wore his sword, as I found it recorded in history: so that if no swords were worn, the dresses of dignity could not be put on, and there would thus not be proper respect paid to his Siamese Majesty. I hope this point, too, will be carried, by proper firmness.

In the afternoon, the Kalahom called to say he had seen the King; that the treaty was to be made, and that the public reception was to take place *after* it was signed; that the King would then send an ambassador to England, and asked me to introduce him to all the places he would visit on his way thither. He said that two or three days would suffice for the discussion and arrangement of the treaty, and mentioned that there would be five commissioners appointed to-day, and he agreed that we should meet to-morrow at ten o'clock at the Somdetch's palace to discuss the conditions. He was willing to consent to the terms proposed as regarded residence and the right to buy and to sell, and to settle within twenty-four hours' distance from Bangkok. That all monopolies should be put an end to, and the King levy only one duty on export. In the article of sugar, he wished that the duty on the

sugar-cane should be done away, and the only duty levied be of two salungs per pecul (eight per cent.), and that it should pay no other duty on export. That with respect to other articles, they should only pay the duty paid by the Chinese and Siamese. That the import duty on all goods should be three per cent. That the nomination of consuls should be delayed till the treaty was ratified. He said, two of the principal personages were all who were to take part (as speakers) in the public reception.

If the Kalahom be sincere, matters will end promisingly; if not, he is the most supereminent of hypocrites. He denounces the existing state of things with vehemence; says that bribery and misrule are often triumphant—that monopolies are the bane of the country, and the cause of the loss of trade and misery of the people. He told me I should be blessed if I put an end to them, and encouraged me to persevere in a most vigorous persistence in my efforts for its overthrow.

It is quite a novelty to hear a minister abuse the administration of which he is the head. He confirms his statements by facts; he mentioned instances of bribery and extortion: in a word, his language is of the most high-minded patriotism. I find myself uttering the Castilian exclamation *Ojala!*

Attended the worship of the United States' missionaries this evening. Dr. Bradley said, the present King had disappointed them, but they did not like to officialize their grievances. There were six ladies present, and several children; seven missionaries—they are all Americans. They spoke highly of the

salubriousness of the climate, and said they thought it the best place in the tropics. Some had been here eight or nine years.

Lost my keys to-day. I am convinced they were stolen. Promised a dollar as a reward to the finder, and they were found in the afternoon. Mr (the Siamese steward) says he threatened every one of the servants with twenty stripes, or blows, if the keys were not discovered. I had menaced the servants with the displeasure of the authorities, and I believe this was the efficient cause of the restoration of the keys.

April 9.—H. S. P. and J. C. B. report that the interview of last night was on the whole satisfactory They said the Kalahom required that ships of war should not come up to Bangkok unless an envoy from the Government were on board: they wished our friendly interference for the settlement of their quarrel with the Birmese, and that British subjects should not be allowed to cross the Siamese frontiers.

Soon after ten o'clock, we went to the first Somdetch's palace. It was the first formal and official meeting. We were received, as usual, by a guard presenting arms (being conveyed in a Government boat); and within the gates were several pages clad in yellow, with pikes. We passed through a crowd of people, and entered the great hall, gorgeously ornamented with richly-gilded buffets, services, and other decorations. In the centre, the most elevated spot, sat the senior Somdetch; at his left, the King's brother; at his right, the second Somdetch; and on the same elevation with myself, and opposite, sat the Phra Kalahom,

obviously the master-mind of the assembly, and who carried on most of the conversation. The discussion lasted more than six hours, and every article of the treaty was *talked about;* and as we reached a result, a record was made on a succession of black tablets by a scribe who knelt at the foot of the Kalahom. The Phra Klang was not present, though one of the ministers appointed: there were a number of children at the same elevation as the Somdetch, but all on their knees, and in a state of prostration. A great number of ministers also attended the council, and we soon observed a bulky Chinese—the great monopolist, who farms no less than ninety articles of produce, and who, when the treaty proposal to abolish the existing monopolies was read, was called forward, and looked like ten thunderstorms on hearing what, if effectually carried out, destroys "Othello's occupation." The powers from the Sovereigns of Great Britain and Siam were read—those given to the Five Commissioners seemed ample. The Queen's seal excited much curiosity.

After about four hours' discussion of the articles of the proposed treaty, a variety of refreshments were brought in; we partook of them, and resumed our labours. The remarks of the King's brother were sensible. The first Somdetch is nearly imbecile, and obviously understood very imperfectly what passed: his naked leg had a sore, and plaster upon it, which gave him some trouble.* The second Somdetch, who is said to be deeply interested in existing mono-

* He died a few days after this meeting.

polics, was rather forward in his objections. The four ministers talked them over loudly, so that the persons present who could understand the language might follow the discussion.

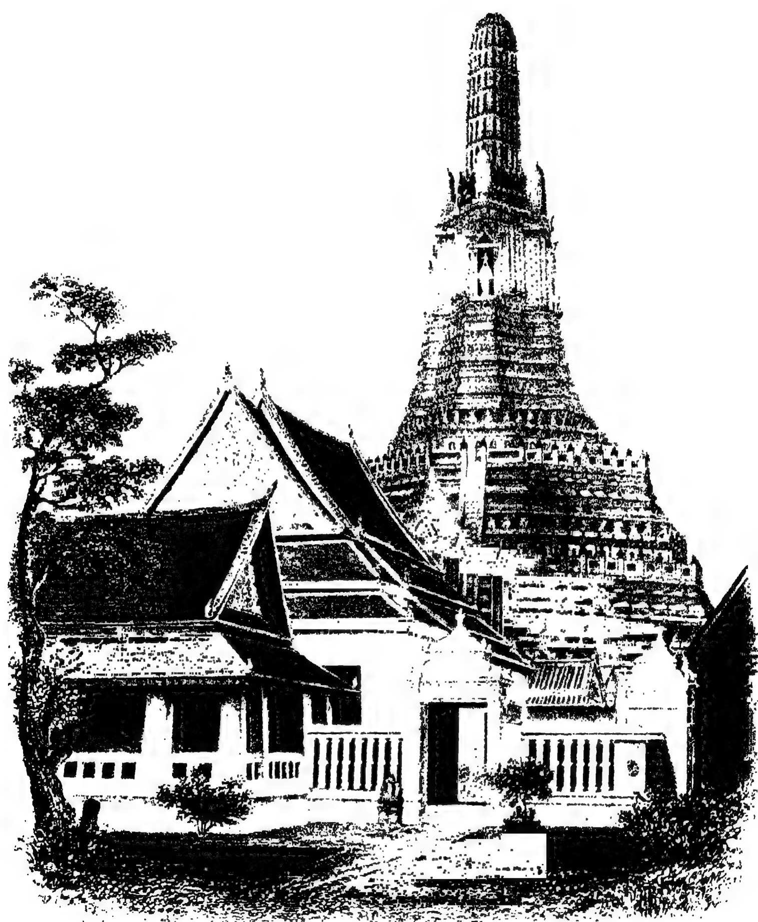
At half-past four o'clock the meeting broke up, to be resumed on Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

April 10.—Visited the second Somdetch. Received, as usual, with great parade. Passed through a line of pages clad in green, with scarlet caps, and holding lances; and was met at the entrance by the Somdetch's son, who escorted us to the audience-hall, in the centre of which the Somdetch sat, but came forward to welcome us: and we were, when seated, questioned as to the position, names, &c. of my suite. He asked many pertinent questions about Chinese politics, and was desirous of knowing which party was likely to prevail. He inquired about Canton and Shanghae, and sought information from Parkes as to the duties at Amoy. He asked how far we could afford protection to Siamese ships against pirates;—said that scarcely any junks had come down in the present year. He told us the attempts to cultivate tea had failed, though they had employed Chinese in the business, but that the tea had no flavour. He inquired about the different modes of cultivating coffee, and said he had heard the coffee-tree grew so high in Java that the gatherers of the berry had to climb up the branches. I told him that the trees which grew unpruned and untrained in their full luxuriance neither produced so much, nor was their produce of a quality equal to that of the cultivated trees. The Somdetch is sixty-four years of age, and

says he has a hundred living descendants, two of whom—a little boy and girl—seemed to take precedence of the others, adorned with many jewels and gold ornaments; while the multitude were nearly naked, wearing only gold chains, bangles, or knee-rings, and generally a wreath of fragrant flowers on the top of the head. Flowers seem universally used: they had hung festoons in the bed-rooms which were prepared for us; and every day a large nosegay of fresh roses is sent to me by some one or other of the nobles. I have had two presents of mangosteens, which are just coming in. The rainy season begins in two months. His Excellency said that rice would never be an article of trade—it must be kept for the people: its price was one salung per bucket, but it had gone as high as one and a half. The excess of one season provided for the deficiency of another; but the price never allowed importation from foreign countries, and when the neighbourhood of Bangkok was insufficient for the wants of the people, it came from other parts of the kingdom: but the King would, if he pleased, allow of the exportation when the markets were over-supplied. Notwithstanding this opinion, rice is likely to become an article of immense foreign demand. I did not observe any ladies, but some of my suite saw a multitude looking down from a gallery of the palace; and once, when I pointed to a Chinese inscription in a direction where the ladies were, they were all observed "to duck down" in order to avoid notice. A great variety of gold utensils were about: cigar-boxes, of which diamonds and other precious stones

were amongst the embossed work. Several of the spittoons were of silver—those used by the Somdetch of gold; the boxes from which he took his betel-nut, which he was continually chewing, were also of gold and jewels: in fact, gold seemed the only metal valuable enough to be used in his personal service. There were three large mirrors, which, he said, were imported from Java, but their carved and gilded frames were made in Siam: indeed, the Siamese seem clever in this species of handicraft.

At daybreak, we went round the city in our State barge. The elephants of the two Kings were bathing in front of their separate palaces. We did not on this occasion see the *white* favourite, but remarked that some had white or coffee-coloured ears, and that they wore rings of either gold or silver on their tusks. I understand many elephants are brought from the neighbourhood of the ancient capital, Ayuthia. They often laid down in the water, and left their keepers to get again on their backs as they could. On entering the water, they generally indulge in a thorough tipple, filling their trunks, and then conveying the fulness into their huge gorge. We met phra (priests) of every grade, collecting alms, from the high dignitary in his grand boat, with umbrella and attendants, to the humblest devotee paddling a skiff only five or six feet long, upon the water. We passed the unfinished pile of a pagoda, almost of pyramidal size, whose foundations had given way, and the erection was therefore abandoned by the late King. The canal round the city, with the river frontage, em-



ployed about an hour and a quarter to compass it in our boats.

A subscription has been opened to pay the expense of enclosing the Protestant cemetery given by the King: its cost will be four thousand ticals. I subscribed five hundred on behalf of the British Government, a similar sum having been contributed by British residents.

At half-past twelve o'clock, went to the Portuguese consul, who has a comfortable and convenient abode about a mile below the British Factory on the other side of the river. He had not been officially received, on account of some informality in his credentials. Then called on the American missionaries, one of whose stations is close to the Portuguese consulate. I hear generally a hopeful expression as to the results of my Mission; but I feel much anxiety, and shall continue to feel it until the work is done.

Then proceeded to the Catholic Mission. They gave me a copy of Pallegoix' *Grammar*, and the *Latin and Thai Dictionary*. The Bishop of Cambodia rose from his bed to meet me. Neither the Catholics nor the Protestants make any converts among the Siamese—among the Chinese a few. They tell me the Catholics in Bangkok are about three thousand in all, including the descendants of ancient Portuguese settlers.

At six, went with Keane, H. S. P., J. C. B., and Bell, to visit Prince Pra Chau Nong Ya Ter Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh, the King's brother, who has an excellent reputation for good sense and honesty. We found, at the entrance to his palace, an American

medical diploma given to his Royal Highness, pictures of English race-horses, and other adornings of European origin. The reception-hall was large; and there was a considerable band of musicians, with many musical instruments. His Royal Highness apologized for his want of acquaintance with our manners, and hoped we should excuse any seeming want of attention or respect;—said the Siamese were only beginning to learn the geography and the power of foreign nations: their first acquaintance was with the Portuguese, but time had brought the greater knowledge and power of Great Britain to their notice. After much amicable talk, we went upstairs to apartments furnished in the taste of the West, and had wine and tea (very fine), sweetmeats, fruits, and cigars. Mr. Chandler, of the United States' Mission, and Mr. Hunter, were the interpreters. His Royal Highness said many complimentary things respecting their knowledge of and confidence in me, and that my arrival as the King's friend had given them much joy. He said that the Kalahom, the Phra Klang, and himself were friendly to foreigners, but that they were opposed by others, who belonged to the ancient state of things. We have ascertained this to be the case. He said there were great contentions among the five ministers appointed, but he would do his best. He asked whether we meant to remove the steamer on Thursday, according to promise; and I answered him, "Most assuredly," at which he expressed great satisfaction. He said there were two other princes whom I ought to visit; and I expressed my desire to do so on learning when they would receive me. In reference to

treaties, he said—"A man who has his own rice in sufficiency, why should he want more?" To which I answered, that he might have enough for himself and others too, who would give him other things that he wanted in exchange for the superfluity. It had been reported to him that my son had been noticing a dress of one of the attendants as resembling a Highland plaid, and he caused one of these plaids to be presented to him, and one to Mr. Parkes. He said it was not usual for persons in his position to give presents, except officially, but he wished to give me one of the ornamented pillows, the use of which is confined to the nobles, saying—"While we can look upon one another's faces, we need no memento; but when you are far away, and lay your head upon this pillow, then think of me who gave it you." He complained of the language of one of the United States' missionaries, who was employed as secretary by Mr. Ballestier; and on my recommending the student interpreter (Mr. Bell), whom I mean to leave here, he said that every kindness should be shown him, and he hoped he would keep free from any improper meddling with Siamese affairs. I assured the prince that Mr. Bell's object was to learn the language and to study the usages of the country, and to obtain all useful information; that he had to exercise no public functions; and that I hoped, by his gentlemanly and prudent demeanour, he would recommend himself to the good opinion and the confidence of all the Siamese authorities. I was assured everything should be done for his comfort.

April 11.—This morning, Captains Keane, Mellersh,

and myself took a row in the steamer's gig up the river. We saw the elephants bathing, and among them the white elephant, whose colour is not white, but a dull brick colour. He (or rather she, for the animal is a young female) was escorted to the river with music and a sort of procession, and had several other elephants in attendance. We saw altogether about thirty, and visited many in their sheds, where they are tied by the fore-leg to large wooden pillars, being kept strictly from all communication with one another. There were three elephants in some of the sheds. We saw a cock-fight, in which the owners of the cocks did their best to excite their own birds to act valorously, and observed more than one Siamese engaged in washing and attending to the wounds of the cocks that had suffered in combat. Women are constantly seen rubbing turmeric over their naked children; and we observed a white dog on which the same operation had been performed.

We passed many criminals in chains, some of which were very light, others very oppressive. The first class were, as we understood, debtors, who become subject to slavery at the demand of their creditors, and who, in consequence, are delivered over to those who will buy their services. It is usual for a creditor to punish his debtor by calling in the power of the nobles, and handing him over to servitude unless his friends release him, though the servitude is often unredeemed for life.

Bonzes of different ranks were levying their contributions silently on the prostrate people, whose offerings seemed spontaneously given. The rice-pots were drawn

upon by a succession of these mendicants, each one receiving his spoonful in an iron pot; while betels and fruits were transferred to a satchel, sometimes ornamented, which hung from the shoulder of the bonze. I saw some bonzes who had a young person to carry pot and scrip; and there were among the yellow-clad bonzes collectors who were almost children, dedicated to the priesthood from very boyhood. Most of the older bonzes had a heavy, stern, and repulsive look; but others laughed as we passed, and discoursed about us to their surrounding brethren. I have not heard any bonze address those who were despoiling themselves in order to win the prayers of the priests; and we understood the sole motive of the multitudinous givers was to do a deed of virtue, and *merit* favour either in the present or some future form of existence.

We saw two alligators in one of the tanks near a temple, and a *purely white* monkey occupied a cage in one of the stalls of the Royal elephants. The market was liberally supplied with fruits and vegetables: there was pork—abundance of fish. I saw nothing but cowries employed for purchases.

A meeting had been arranged this evening between the Kalahom, and H. S. P. and J. C. B. It was understood that everything had been settled, and the principal points of the treaty agreed to. Indeed, the Kalahom led me to believe that matters were in his hands, and that he should vanquish the difficulties, and had only to discuss some matters of detail. At half-past seven o'clock, Mr. Joseph came to say that no meeting would take place; that the ministers could not agree; that they had been called away to settle

the ceremonials of the procession of to-morrow. I expressed great anger at being thus trifled with; altered altogether my tone; said I should not remove the steamer if matters continued in so unsatisfactory a state, and that my position would be altogether changed; that, of course, I could not attend to-morrow's ceremonials. All this may be a device on the part of the hostile officials to try me, and may not ultimately thwart my purposes. It teaches me, however (if teaching were necessary), that not one step must be taken in confidence, but *all* in distrust. If the Kalahom's game have been treacherous, then, indeed, he is a very master in the art of dissimulation and dishonesty. I am disposed to think there are real difficulties, and I can only take the position of firmness and decision. I waited till nearly one A.M. for the return of P. and B., whom I sent off to the Phra Kalahom at nine o'clock, and was delighted to find that they had made progress—that the articles of the treaty, subject to my revision, were arranged, except the commercial article, and that the tone taken was likely to assist the more speedy settlement of the whole affair.

April 12.—I had the greatest satisfaction this morning in giving instructions to Captain Mellersh to drop down in the steamer, and to request preparations might be made for our official appearance at the grand ceremonies of to-day, when we are to be present at the visit of the King to one of the principal *wats*, or temples.

Last night, Prince Mom Phra Tai, the King's private minister, gave me an interesting account of

his study of English. He devoted first sixty-one days under Dr. Bradley; then he was interfered with; he resumed, was again checked; was laughed at by the people, who, when he attempted to talk, called him "fool." In six months he had made much progress. The Second King asked Dr. Bradley how long it required to learn English. He said, three years; and a boy was ordered to be chained up for that time in order to learn the language, but the boy did *not* learn it. Afterwards the prince got more encouragement, and is now private secretary to the King. He brought some fruit which I had never before seen, called *ma-fai*, somewhat resembling grapes in flavour, of a yellow colour; in bunches like the *whampi*. Said, an old woman had heard I was fond of Siamese fruit, and had brought this fruit to the palace to him: he mentioned it to the King, and the King ordered him to bring it to me.

Everybody busy in preparing for "the sight" of the day. In such a climate, official and Court "toggery" is a very oppressive burden; but the King requested it might be worn, and I stipulated that our swords might be a part of it.

At ten o'clock, the Royal barges arrived. The one sent for me, and which when I was escorted from Paknam had cushions and curtains, was now deprived of these appendages, so that I should have been exposed to the beams of the tropical sun. I refused to use it, and in consequence we all went in the boats of the *Rattler* and the *Grecian*, and the State boats followed. The inattention was made a subject of complaint, and I afterwards learnt that the

author of the neglect had received thirty strokes of the bamboo as a punishment. On reaching the river-banks, opposite the temple, we found the King had arrived, accompanied by a vast number of ornamented barges, and had gone to pay his alms to the priests, and to offer his sacrifices to Gaudama. Chairs were provided for us under an awning, by the river-side; but as the heat was oppressive, we were escorted to the interior of the building, close to the great gate of the temple; and it was proposed to separate me from the inferior gentlemen of my suite. I was soon found by the prince (the King's brother), and placed in a position of equality with him. The second Somdetch also arrived, and took his seat next above me. We remained half an hour while the King was in the temple, and meanwhile we were invited to walk about the gardens, and visit the other parts of the precincts; but it was intensely hot, and we declined the proffered courtesy. Close to me, at the opposite side of the door, sat a pet son of the King, three years old, attended by a number of ladies and nurses, quite encumbered with the gold ornaments about his feet, but wearing round his head only a jewelled wreath of white fragrant flowers. The nobles were clad in splendid garments; and the prince laughingly asked me how much he should lose in weight by the exposure of his jolly person to the burning sun. A throne was placed at some distance, from which, we were informed, his Majesty would address me. Mr. Parkes finding that no proper arrangements had been made as to my position, the prince accompanied him to the spot, and a place equal

to that of the very highest nobles was assigned to me; and, instead of being required to sit on the floor, a cushion was provided similar to those occupied by the Somdetch and the prince. After some time, we were summoned to occupy our places. The King approached, carried on an elevated throne, preceded by a multitude of attendants, some bearing arms, others umbrellas, all richly but grotesquely clad. A line of nobles bowed on their faces as his Majesty passed. The British officers stood erect in a line behind the nobles, and took off their hats as his Majesty passed. When his Majesty, accompanied by the child I have mentioned, had located himself on the throne, we all seated ourselves on the ground. I was at a distance of about six feet from the foot of the throne. His Majesty addressed me in English, stating that he had come thither to perform his annual *rites* in the temple built by his father: he welcomed me to witness his "Royal state." He inquired whether the dress of the officers before him was both civil and military. He spoke of Siam, and the dependence of the country on the state of the waters, which, he said, were at the highest in October and November, when the whole region about Ayuthia was sometimes overflowed. He said the heat was great because the sun was at its zenith. He invited me to see the interior of the temple when the ceremonies were over. Liqueurs were brought while his Majesty was addressing me. He asked us to look at the "Royal barge" as it passed; so, on his rising, we again moved through a long file of soldiery, who "presented arms" as we walked by, and the Royal boat left, the King being accompanied

by his child. "God save the Queen" was played as she rowed along. The dress of the Queen was gorgeous: a tall crown in the shape of a *tiara*, similar to that worn in ancient times; enormous jewelled rings, and a variety of costly ornaments. The King walked from the throne to the boat, and bowed to me as the boat passed. The band played "God save the Queen" as the King's barge went by us. Refreshments were brought; and, escorted by Prince Krom Wongsa, we went into the interior of the temple, where the King had just deposited his offerings, which consisted of flowers, rice, and sweetmeats, before a large gilded image of Buddha, cross-legged, and ornamented with a belt of real or artificial diamonds. The King is reported to profess a modified or reformed Buddhism, and once said to the missionaries, that his religion was, as contrasted with the religion of the vulgar, what Protestantism is to Catholicism, for he only wished to retain the pure text of the sacred books, and to get rid of superfluous and superstitious commentaries. There were many large heaps of sand erected in memory of the dead in the neighbourhood of the temple; and immediately opposite the place where we stood before the throne were two large granite statues, representing Europeans, probably brought from China.

The walls of the temple were covered with paintings, historical, metaphorical, and fabulous: battles, adventures, love scenes, all seemed mixed incongruously. An enormous candle was lighted before the altar, which, we were told, continued burning for months: there were many gold and silver ornaments.

The temple was crowded with people, who paid apparently little respect to the idol, and some of them smoked their cigars in his presence.

On the whole, the scenes of the day were imposing, alike from their novelty and the barbaric grandeur of the show. The imitations of British uniform in the dresses of the soldiers contrasted strangely with the Orientalism of most of the costumes.

April 13.—H. S. P. and J. C. B. report favourably of last evening's discussions. It would seem, the main difficulties are got over, and there is a fair prospect of our completing the treaty soon. Have been engaged in examining what modifications I must endeavour to obtain.

Captain K——, an Irish gentleman, has been opening his mind respecting the position of the Second King, whose agent he is. He says that the Second King is thrown too much into the shade, but that he is the cleverest man in the kingdom, and has two thousand troops at his disposal; and intimated that, on the death of the two old Somdetches, he would probably take a more active part in public affairs. There is abundant evidence in Bangkok, as elsewhere in the East, (and, indeed, where not?) that the spirit of intrigue is active and ready to avail itself of any event likely to further its objects; but I have an obvious duty, not to be entangled in any personal questions, but to make all parties subordinate to or co-operative in my objects. We are told that all sorts of malignant reports are spread with reference to our coming, in order to alarm the people; that it is said we have seized a great many women, and keep them

on board the *Rattler*, and that some have been already killed by us.

The personal character of the prime minister is to me an object of my admiration. He is the most distinguished man of the greatest family in the empire; he was the main instrument which placed the present King upon the throne against the claims of the late King's son, and was made prime minister. He has again and again told me that if my policy is to save the people from oppression and the country from monopoly, he shall labour with me, and if I succeed my name will be blest to all ages. He unveils abuses to me without disguise, and often with vehement eloquence. If he prove true to his profession, he is one of the noblest and most enlightened patriots the Oriental world has ever seen. He is careless about wealth, and says money is an anxiety to him, so he spends it profusely: he explained all the difficulties of his position, even as regarded the other members of his own family. To him Siam owes her fleet of merchant-ships.

April 14.—Last night's meeting most satisfactory. They urged the conclusion of the treaty, so that the *Rattler* might get away by the next tide; and from half-past five A.M. all hands have been engaged in copying out the articles. They wished to have them one after another, in the hope that the whole may be concluded to-day. Inshallah! Such promptitude was, I believe, never before exhibited in an Asiatic Court. It is mainly due to the Phra Kalahom's energetic influence: he has a great work to accomplish, and he *is* working while it is day—ay, and by night as well.

The Portuguese whom we supposed to be a general, and whom we saw at Paknam in a court-dress given him by Sir James Brooke, tells me his functions are to superintend all the foreign Catholic Christians in Bangkok. Among them are fourteen hundred Cochin Chinese, thirteen hundred descendants from the Portuguese, eight hundred Chinese; and the whole number of foreign Catholics in Bangkok amounts to about four thousand. They appear subject to no molestation whatever.

The discussions respecting the treaty seem now nearly brought to a happy termination. Objections have been made as to allowing the English text to be considered as conveying the meaning and intention of the treaty, but I expect they will be removed. It is intended that the public reception shall take place on Monday at eleven o'clock; the meeting is fixed with the commissioners for to-morrow morning at nine o'clock for the final revision of the treaty, and my great anxiety is the arrangement for the removal of the *Rattler* outside the bar by the next high tides (on Tuesday or Wednesday), so that I may be able to join her as soon as the business of my Mission is completed.

April 15.—Went to the meeting of the commissioners at the Somdetch's palace at half-past nine A.M. During the discussions, a reference was made to the King, which interrupted the negotiations for an hour. At last everything was concluded satisfactorily, and our great object now is to have everything copied, so that if possible the treaties may be signed on Tuesday, and the steamer get over the bar. The prince asked

more than once that spirits should be excluded; but it was thought best not to give way on any point, lest the exhibition of want of firmness might prejudice the whole affair, and, rather *malgré moi*, I refused his request. He dropped a hint, that if any Siamese traded in spirits it would be the worse for him. This is the only sign of impatience which he has exhibited in the course of all these exciting conferences and discussions; but I believe the feeling was transitory, for nobody was more cordial than his Royal Highness, when, on the following day, he escorted me after the grand reception to see the white elephant.

April 16.—How can I describe the barbaric grandeur, the parade, the show, the glitter, the real magnificence, the profuse decorations of to-day's Royal audience! We went, as usual, in the State barges: mine had scarlet and gold curtains, the others had none. Parkes sent them back, and they all returned with the needful appendages: he understands the art of managing Orientals marvellously well. When we landed, chairs were brought, and multitudes of guards escorted us. From the moment we entered the precincts of the palace, an unbroken line of soldiery, dressed in a great variety of costumes, and bearing every species of weapon (many singularly grotesque and rude), spears, shields, swords, bucklers, battle-axes, bows, quivers, in every form, and uniforms of every colour and shape, fantastical, farcical, fierce, amusing; the rudest forms of ancient warfare mingled with Sepoy-dressed regulars—ancient European Court costumes amidst the light and golden

garments, and sometimes the nakedness above the waist of nobles of the highest distinction. I was carried in a gaudy gilded chair, with a scarlet umbrella over me, borne by eight bearers, with a crowd of attendants. My suite followed me in less decorated seats; but crowds of men, women, and children pressed around us, who were beaten away with canes by the police. We passed through rows of caparisoned ponies and elephants mounted for war. The ruder troops of the wilder countries were broken by small bodies of soldiers dressed in European style, who "presented arms," and had fifes and drums; but much of the music was of tom-toms and Siamese instruments. We were all conducted to a building to wait the Royal summons, where coffee and cigars were brought in, and gold and silver vessels containing pure water covered the table, at the head of which I was placed. The spittoon at my feet was of silver inlaid with gold, and about fourteen inches in diameter. Soon a messenger came, and we proceeded on foot to the hall of reception. Soft and exceedingly pleasing music welcomed our arrival, and it thundered forth a loud peal as we approached the grand hall of audience.

All the natives who accompanied us threw themselves on their knees, and crawled in by the two sides of a screen which concealed the interior from our view. We had still some apprehension that an attempt might be made to take our swords from us. I was not quite sure that the difficulty had been arranged, as the King had written to me privately that it was against all usage that an armed stranger

should approach the sacred presence. It has been the subject of several conversations with his "private minister," who sought to convince me that I ought to give way. I quoted the reception of the ambassador of Louis XIV., who, after long negotiations with Phaulcon, the then prime minister, was allowed to wear his sword; and I stated that the officers of Her Majesty's navy would not consent to have their swords taken from them—that their sword was very precious in their eyes, and that as it was an honour to wear it, so it would be a disgrace to have it taken from them, and I could not order them to surrender their swords, and if the King insisted, they could not go in full dress, which would be a dishonour to the Majesty of Siam; that I wished to appear before the King exactly in the same costume which I wore at my audience with my own Sovereign on my departure from her Court. This point, too, I was so fortunate as to carry. On entering the hall, we found it crowded with nobles, all prostrate, and with their faces bent to the ground. I walked forward through the centre of the hall to a cushion provided for me in a line with the very highest nobles not of royal blood: the prime minister and his brother were close to me on my right hand. The King came in, and seated himself on an elevated and gorgeous throne like the curtained box of a theatre. He was clad in golden garments, his crown at his side; but he wore on his head a cap decorated with large diamonds, and enormous diamond rings were on his fingers. At my left, nearer the throne, were the King's brothers [illegible] sons; at the right, the princes

of the blood, the Somdetches, and the higher nobles. The nobility crowded the hall, all on their knees; and on the entrance of the King, his throne being raised about ten feet from the floor, they all bent their foreheads to the ground, and we sat down as gracefully as we could while the prostrations were repeated again and again. Very agreeable music continued to be played; it sank into silence, and I addressed the King in a speech, which I read, thanking his Majesty for the cordial welcome I had received, for the facilities he had afforded me in giving prompt and effectual aid in furtherance of the objects of my Mission, and expressing my confidence that the conditions of the treaty would add to the lustre of a name already distinguished among Western nations, and conduce to the permanent prosperity of the two contracting powers, and of the world at large.

This was put into Siamese, and read aloud by the prime minister's brother. The King made rather a long speech, which was an account of various embassies to Siam. He said, it was only of late years that they had become acquainted with the greatness of England and the value of the alliance. He spoke of Mr. Crawfurd's visit—of the American treaty with Mr. Roberts—asked whether everything had been completed—wished to see the treaty to judge for himself that it was accurately translated, and to discuss the subject with the Second King; said the American treaty was in four languages, English, Siamese, Portuguese, and Chinese; (we had seen the treaty in the conference of yesterday, ratified by "Andrew Jackson;") asked whether the Queen

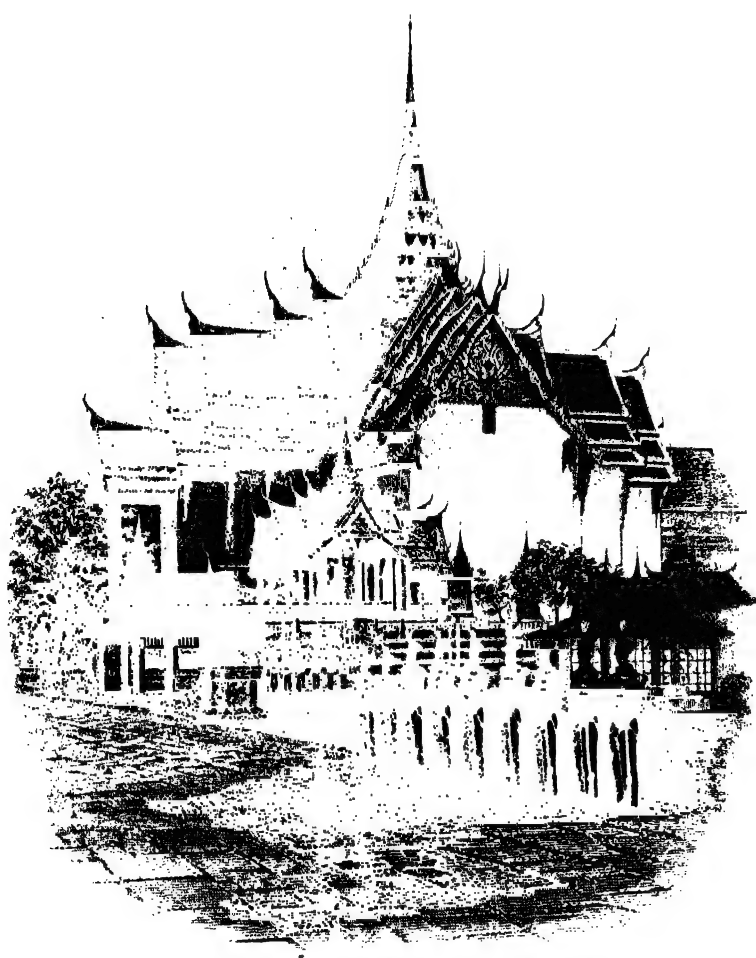
would propose any alterations, and when he might expect its ratification. I thought, in about four months, if the Queen and the ministers were in London. He asked to see my "full powers," which I promised to bring to the palace. He said, we must not expect too much from Siam—it was mostly a jungle. I answered, that commerce would make the jungle a garden, and that my own now-cultivated country was once almost a wilderness. He said, "Your country is a garden." I answered, "we owed our progress to trade." He said he should write to the Queen of England, and asked me to take charge of the letter, which I expressed my anxiety to do. He asked when the steamer would leave. I told him, I hoped the treaty would be signed to-morrow, and I should then wish her to descend the Meinam and wait for me outside the bar. "How many days would I afterwards remain?" I said, four or five. He said, the Prince Krom Hluang would accompany me to see the white elephant and the temple in which he worshipped, where was the most sacred of the representations of Buddha—of which the King had sent me pictures to Hongkong. All the King said was recorded, and my answers were read aloud in a Siamese translation to the assembled nobles. The King introduced me then to his eldest brother, to his son, and to various princes of the blood royal, who "lifted up" their heads as he mentioned their names. They were clad in light garments of flowered gold-embossed lace, or *tulle*, for the most part exceedingly splendid; but the nobles at the lower ends and the more distant parts of the hall were naked to their

waists, wearing only ornamented garments round the lower parts of their bodies. The legs and feet of all, without exception, were bare. In the distance on the two sides of the throne were a great number of pages. On the pillars of the hall were pictures of the Pope and the Queens of England and Portugal on the same pillar, and of the Chinese Emperor Taou Kwang on the opposite side; several lithographs of the Great Exhibition of 1851; a collection of national flags painted by a boy at Whampoa; and some other portraits of persons whom I could not distinguish. The reception must have lasted half an hour, when the King withdrew, and a golden curtain was let down before the throne on which he had been seated. The nobles rose, and we were greeted by such of them as we personally knew. There was again a chorus of music, and in which innumerable drums took part; and I received a message from the King that he wished to see me quite alone.

I was conducted through a court of the palace, and found the King, divested of his royal robes, sitting behind a latticed window at a considerable height above me, while I stood on a carpet below. A chair was soon brought, and his Majesty read a copy of my speech aloud, and was pleased to pay me many compliments about it: he said, when I spoke it he did not clearly understand all its meaning, but now he understood every word, and that every word was appropriate, and such as he should have wished me to say. He asked me whether there were any productions of Siam I wished to possess, for they were quite at my service, and he would send them. He said

I should have what plants I wished, and ordered that two young elephants should be presented to me, if I would take charge of them. He directed a lithograph of the white elephant to be given me, and then sent for his youngest-born, a girl of eight months, and having fondled it, asked if I did not think it handsome—which it really was: it was quite naked, and I saw no ornament except a small coronal of white flowers upon its head. I asked his Majesty how many children he had: he answered—"Eleven since I was King, and twelve before—plenty of royalty." It was a pretty sight to see a despotic monarch, before whom I had just witnessed the whole nobility of the land in a state of prostrate adoration, dandling and smiling upon a little child.

On leaving the King, I went, accompanied by the Prince Krom Hluang, to see the white elephant. Her colour is really a light mahogany, the eye that of an albino; but the animal appeared in perfect health, and occupied the centre of a large apartment, in one part of which, in an elevated position, was a golden chair for the King, near which I observed an American revolver, several pistols and swords. The elephant has a number of attendants, who were feeding her with fresh grass (which I thought she treated somewhat disdainfully), sugar-cane, and plantains. She was richly caparisoned in cloth of gold and ornaments, some of which she tore away, and was chastised for the offence by a blow on the proboscis by one of the keepers. She was fastened to an upright pole by ropes covered with scarlet cloth, but at night was released, had the liberty of the room, and slept



against a matted and ornamented partition sloping from the floor at about an angle of forty-five degrees. In a corner of the room was a caged monkey of pure white, but seemingly very active and mischievous. The prince fed the elephant with sugar-cane, which appeared her favourite food; the grass she rather seemed disposed to toss about than to eat. The elephant had been trained to make a salaam by lifting her proboscis over the neck, and did so more than once at the prince's bidding. We afterwards visited other elephants more or less white. The King sent me the bristles of the tail of the last white elephant to look at: they were fixed in a gold handle, such as ladies use for their nosegays at balls.

We then went to the temple within the palace, where is deposited the most precious of the images of Buddha. It is of dark-coloured green jade or malachite, but elevated too high to allow it to be approached for examination. The pavement of the temple is of brass bricks: its ornaments are of every character; statues from Italy—many *lusus naturæ*, such as extraordinarily-formed horns of the rhinoceros and tusks of the elephant. There were the golden utensils, and garments worn by the late King. The dresses worn by the Buddha at the different seasons of the year were shown us; they were enormously heavy from the weight of gold, and the caps or crowns were covered with diamonds. This is the most sacred of the Siamese temples; in it the King worships, and twice a year the nobles come and drink in it the water of allegiance.

We next ascended many steps to a temple, on the

ior of which was a silver carpet, and in its centre an enormous cabinet of ebony and mother-of-pearl, containing the sacred books of the Buddhists. It was opened; but the sun was so oppressively hot, and we were so exhausted by the labours of the day, that the succession of extraordinary objects, in the various temples to which our attention was called, palled upon our senses, and we were obliged to discontinue our researches, reserving only a visit to the great Buddhist image at another temple, which we were to reach by our boats. But, by some misunderstanding, we missed the chairs which were to convey us to our boats, and had to walk a long distance from the palace and through the neighbouring streets to the side of the river.

The Great Buddha is about one hundred and forty feet in length. I imagine he must be built of brick, covered with chunam, and then with a thick leaf of gold. He lies in the ordinary state of repose, reclining on his left hand upon richly-decorated pillows. The soles of the feet are made of ebony, covered with mother-of-pearl symbols resembling those which are found in the various impressions which are deemed sacred, such as that on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, and frequently in the temples of the god. The King sent to-day a supply of durians and mangosteens.

April 17.—A message from the King, to ask whether I should like to see a Siamese play. I answered, "Yes!" and was told I might bring some of the officers with me; but I urged the immediate signing of the treaty, to enable the steamer to depart

outside the bar. I cannot but feel much anxiety on a matter so important, and for the defeat of which so many intrigues are at work.

The Phra Klang has been with me;—says it is impossible the Siamese copies can be ready till to-morrow. Settled, I hope finally, that the commissioners shall meet to sign the treaty at eleven o'clock to-morrow.

The interview with the Second King took place to-day. The arrangements equally gorgeous and striking, and in most respects resembling the ceremonials of yesterday; but there was a higher tone of civilization and better knowledge of European customs exhibited. We were received by an officer and some soldiers on the landing-place, where there were not only chairs (mine highly elevated), but a quantity of carriages, to convey us to the palace. We passed through a file of soldiers for a distance of more than a quarter of a mile, most of them strangely clothed, and armed with cross-bows and poisoned arrows, battle-axes, swords at the end of long staves, tridents, halberts, variously-shaped shields, and amidst the odd assemblage, at about equal distances, soldiers who had been obviously under European training. There were files of State and some war elephants, which, with their riders, were grandly caparisoned. There was a park of artillery, served by men dressed like English artillerymen, and obviously well disciplined. We saw some ponies adorned with the most costly saddles, head and breast ornaments, one of which was the pet of the King: they were well governed, and those who had the care of them ap-

peared proud of their charge. We were first conveyed to the hall outside the inner walls of the palace, where coffee, cigars, and the purest water were brought; and we waited the King's order, admiring the novel and extraordinary scene around us. At last the messenger announced that we were expected in the hall of public reception. The tom-toms beat their tune, and very agreeable reed-music accompanied us. The nobles who preceded us threw themselves down and crawled upon all-fours into the hall, while I and my suite walked up through the centre of the apartment, all clad in full uniform and bearing our swords, amidst multitudinous prostrate nobles, to the head of the hall, where a cushion was prepared for my reception. I bowed thrice to the King, and then seated myself, *à la Turque*, upon the floor. One of the high nobles announced the objects of my Mission; after which I read an address to the King, conveying my sentiments of respect, announcing the settlement of the treaty, and expressing my hope and belief that a good work had been done for Siam, for my country and mankind. His Majesty made many inquiries about the Queen and the Royal Family—her age, the number of her children, whether she had gone to Paris to meet the Emperor Louis Napoleon. He inquired the names and offices of all the persons present,—wished to know the state of the health of the crews on board the ships, as he said the Americans, when their fleet was here, had suffered much. Our answers were recorded by the Court scribes. He hoped, as I was an old man, that I had borne the fatigues and the heat of the season well, and was

satisfied with my reception here. He said he had not yet seen the treaty, and inquired whether I was contented with its conditions; asked when the steamer would leave; and I answered, "Immediately after the signature of the treaty;"—how long I should stay; and I replied, "Only a few days, as I had work to do in China." He had nothing on his head, nor did I observe any covering; nor were his garments equal in splendour to those of the First King. He sent cigars and fresh water, and desired we would supply ourselves from his own box, which was a beautiful piece of workmanship in gold. He rose, and the curtains were drawn, and music again broke forth. We remained a short time saluting our acquaintances, who did not stand up till we left the hall.

We were conducted to a large apartment in which the King is accustomed to receive the talapoins, and we found a lunch, or tiffin, laid out in perfect European taste, though the table was covered with Asiatic fruits and preserves. There were, however, American biscuits; and one dish at least that I tasted evidenced that the *cuisine* was (as I had heard reported) one of his Majesty's cares, and that his cooks, if not Europeans, have at all events received European instructions. Everything was singularly neat and comfortable. The King's son joined us, but did not partake of the meal. The hall, as usual, was crowded with attendants.

In the evening, a party of eleven went to the First King. His Majesty was engaged in looking at the magic lantern which we had brought (he wore the watch which I had presented to him in the Queen's

name). It was not a novelty, as he had one in the palace before, but the astronomical slides seemed particularly to interest him. After some time, he asked us whether we would like to see the Royal crown jewels, and sent one of the nobles for the crown in which he had been crowned, and which, he said, had been that of his Royal grandfather. It is of pyramidical shape, and weighs about four pounds. It is covered with beautiful diamonds, the one at the top being of enormous size and extraordinary splendour: two flaps or wings of gold with diamonds descended by the side of the ears, and the crown is tied under the chin. His Majesty put it on, and said the Sovereigns of Siam were crowned by the highest Brahminical priest. He then exhibited the sword of state, whose gold scabbard is richly embossed, and covered with diamonds and jewels; and his Majesty unsheathed it, and showed us two swords, one within the other—the inner of steel, the outer of metal: the handle was partly made of "sacred wood," covered by a succession of ornamented and jewelled rings. He showed us the stiletto he usually wears: it had a three-pointed blade. The King gave his card to every one of the gentlemen present, and poured out for every one a small glass of wine, which he himself presented, having learned the name and office of each. He showed us specimens of Siamese skill in working gold—among other things, imitations of Mordan's pens. His Majesty presented me with a small bundle of hairs from the tail of the *second* white elephant, which, of course, is deemed a special mark of attention.

After some time, his Majesty inquired whether

we would like to see the play and the dancing; and we were conducted to the inner palace, where, in an open court, great numbers of lamps and candles were burning, and large lighted wicks placed in vessels of cocoa-nut oil.* The King mounted into his private apartments, opposite to which, on the ground, was a somewhat raised daïs, towards which four actresses, clad in royal attire, made their way, crouching on all-fours, and took their seats. At the foot of the daïs was a hideous old woman, who was the prompter, and whose loud voice we constantly heard directing and correcting the proceedings—sometimes crawling out to adjust dresses, or to assist in the arrangement of flowers and other helps to the tale, which was one of jealousy and Court intrigues. The principal actors were a king, queen, and two concubines. The attendants performing in various ways could scarcely have been less than a hundred, all splendidly dressed in ancient costume much resembling what is seen in ancient Chinese pictures, some Chinese characters being among the attendants. The tale is told in recitative music by a body of singers, accompanied by various instruments. The principal performers *act*, but do not speak. The whole company are girls, and there seemed not one of them above fifteen or sixteen years old. They are selected from the King's wives or concubines, of whom he is said to have six hundred in the palace, who have two thousand four hundred other women in attendance on them, being all presided over by ladies who belong to the noblest families of the land: into the female part of the palace no male is permitted to enter. The tale con-

ducts us through many adventures. In one place the king invites the queen to a bath, where her jealousies are excited by the presence of the concubines. There are many disputes and reconciliations, and they are settled by the refusal and acceptance of flowers. There is a scene where looking-glasses are introduced, and the queen and concubines are seeking each to attire herself more attractively than the others. They undertake excursions in the country, and the peasantry are called in to clear and prepare the roads. There are Court receptions, in which visitors appear in an incredible variety of dress; and there are processions and dances as interludes. The motions were always measured, slow and graceful, the dresses peculiarly modest, though the naked feet sometimes appear under the garments. There was a sword-dance, in which two sovereigns seemed engaged in mock combat. The whole became, after a certain time, oppressive, from its monotony of very gorgeousness.

The Siamese, we are told, often sit till three or four o'clock in the morning, enjoying these sights. While it was going on, the King was writing proclamations in the balcony; every now and then sending messages by a favourite page, or talking to us, or giving directions about the performance. Once he called out, with a laugh, to our interpreter, Mr. Hunter, "Your wife can dance as well as any of them; will you send her hither?" We thought his Majesty might be well contented with his six hundred, and not desire the six hundred and one. The King asked when we would have the play stopped. We said we

thought midnight would be late enough; and soon before midnight the King withdrew, and desired that I would come alone to his private apartments. He then talked to me of presents for her Majesty, and said he should like to send her a Royal crown, but the cost of the jewels would be too great for his finances. I said that her Majesty would be far better pleased with a different and less costly mark of his regard, in the shape of some piece of Siamese manufacture. He said her Majesty had not written to him, but he thought of writing to her Majesty, and asked me about the style of the letter. I answered, that as his Majesty's English was perfectly intelligible, an autograph in his own manner, uncorrected, would be more acceptable than any letter in whose composition an Englishman should be called in to assist. He made a great many inquiries with respect to philosophical instruments, showed me his copying presses and his private letter-book, and gave me a list of *desiderata*, which I promised should be sent out. He showed me some bituminous productions of Cochin China, said they would burn, and asked whether they were coal: he meant to have the districts examined where coal was said to exist in Siam. He was very inquisitive about the powers of consuls, and desired I would not allow any intemperate man to come and cause quarrels. He asked me who would control the consul, and to whom he could complain if he behaved amiss. I told him that the consul would be probably under the Superintendent of Trade in China. He said, "But when you are gone, there may be some one who is not my friend." I assured

him that a fit person would be sent. He inquired whether he would be allowed any fees, as that would lead to abuse and extortion. I promised him that fees should not be levied, that the consul should not be permitted to trade, and that he should be handsomely paid, and a person so educated as to be worthy of his Majesty's confidence. This, he said, was satisfactory; but I can perceive how distasteful the nomination of any consul is in Siam, and I doubt if anything but a prompt persistency at an early period would have carried this point; the Second and First Kings being alike indisposed to welcome any foreign authority whatever in Siam. He asked me when the French and American ambassadors would come—whether they would give him any trouble, or be satisfied with the treaty he had made with us. I said I thought they would be satisfied, but I could not say when their ministers would be able to attend. He said he should like to present to us his principal wife, who was not of royal blood; but she was in an interesting position, and could not therefore receive a stranger. He had had no royal queen since the death of his young consort. (I learn that the nomination of a queen is likely to come under discussion ere long among the nobles; but I doubt if either the party of the Second King or that of the Kalahom will be in a hurry to bring in new legitimate claimants to the throne.) He asked whether there had not been two watches sent, and I told him yes, but that one had been presented to the Second King. He asked whether the Second King had also a writing-desk. "No" was my answer. I said we had come in

much ignorance, and knew not what the King possessed, but I should be most happy to send from England any objects of interest. The King said he should like to have astronomical and philosophical instruments, models of engines, a good telescope, an armillary sphere, the model of a screw-steamer, a code of signals, an hydrometer, a ventometer, and specimens of the most approved instruments of war, such as muskets, pistols, swords, &c. In the course of conversation, I said that his Majesty might possibly accord to me what I should deem a very gracious thing. His Majesty had lately laid restrictions upon the United States missionaries, and I ventured to ask that he would kindly remove them. They had rendered us all much service on occasion of the treaty. The King said the proclamation was to prevent their meddling with politics, which some had done, and they had given trouble about their servants, but that he meant the impediments to their travelling about to be only temporary.

April 18.—This morning, Dr. Bradley called to see us. The Prince Krom Hluang had been with him to say the restricting proclamations had been withdrawn, in consequence of my interference. The missionaries have warmly expressed their obligations to me.

The treaty was signed to-day. We went to the Somdetch's at eleven o'clock, and were occupied four hours in signing and sealing, correcting a few slight matters in the English, for we steadily refused to recognise the Siamese. We had refreshments as usual, but the time passed somewhat wearily. The great seals were brought with some ceremony, being

in boxes covered with gold-embroidered cloth. When the first copy was completed, a signal was given to the *Rattler* from the Somdetch flagstaff; and I truly rejoiced when I heard the first gun of a salute of twenty-one, which was responded to by a similar number from the fortifications. Soon after, the *Rattler* was under weigh for Paknam, the Siamese and British colours flying at her mast-head, and her rigging gaily decorated with flags. The day has to me been, indeed, a delightful one, and I hope it will prove pregnant with many blessings.

In the evening, went to a private audience with the Second King. He is a sensible, quiet, and amiable person, who, from prudence and policy (more, it is said, than from any other cause), takes little part in public affairs. We found all the way from the water-side to the palace matted. His own apartments are convenient, tastefully fitted up, and, except from the suspended punkah and the great height of the rooms, the furniture and ornaments would lead you to believe you were in the house of an English gentleman. His conversation, in excellent English, is cultivated and agreeable. He has a well-selected library of English books, a considerable museum of mechanical instruments, with models of late improvements in many of the departments of science, excellent sextants and quadrants, miniature screw-steamers, and a variety of modern weapons. Music played during the whole evening, and I was much struck with the sweetness of an instrument composed of the reeds of bamboo—the central reeds above seven feet long. The King played upon it, and afterwards presented it to me.

A favourite child, named Pia, was present. His Majesty said he had *about* twenty children; the eldest, named George, a clever young gentleman of eighteen. We saw the mother of Pia looking in at the door, and watching the child at play. The latter was richly adorned with gold and jewels, but stained our white trousers with the yellow turmeric with which her body was covered. The King said ships could be built in Siam for 10*l.* a ton. He is now building a clipper of seven hundred tons burden for the China trade, which was a prosperous one last year, in consequence of the dangers to which the junks have been exposed by pirates.

His Majesty wished to send a present to the Queen, and desired to know and to see what the First King meant to forward. I could only say that it was not desirable that anything of a costly character should be given, but any little memorial characteristic of Siam would, I doubted not, be welcomed and acknowledged.

To my great surprise, I learned that his Majesty had not seen the treaty, which I promised to forward to him. It is obvious that, whether from considerations of prudence, or indifference to public affairs, the Second King avoids taking any active part, and that his influence, if strong, is concealed. But the impression he makes is most favourable.

April 19.—At ten o'clock, the State boats came for us, and escorted us to the First King's Palace to see a play on a grander scale than before. It was exhibited under a large open building, in front of which an awning had been placed, with table, chairs, &c., for our accommodation. At one end of the

building, a temporary throne was erected for the King, who came in undress garments, attended by about a dozen nobles, who remained prostrate on a lower stage of the erection than that occupied by the King. There were a great many troops under arms, some hundreds of nobles and attendants around the edifice, and thousands of people, all naked to their waists (as were the nobles themselves), in the distance, as spectators. The actors were all females, almost all girls: a few matrons, however, took the part of warriors, monkeys, priests; and the three *manageresses* or *prompteresses* were not only old and ugly, but seemed very spiteful, and on several occasions scolded and slapped the ladies who required correction. One of them had the drama, written on black sheets in white letters, before her, from which she prompted the singers of the recitative. The story began by the appearance of a monster monkey in a forest, which is visited by a number of ladies of rank, one of whom, after an unsuccessful struggle, the others having managed to escape, the monster monkey contrives to carry off. She is redeemed by the interference of a priest whose temple is in the forest. Afterwards we are introduced to a sovereign Court, where all the ceremonies are observed which are practised in daily life, the dresses being those ordinarily worn—and most gorgeous they are. The king and queen have added to their fingers golden clams, several inches long, to represent nails, whose length is the emblem of the highest blood. There is a battle, and rewards to the victors, and a crowning a king's son in recompence for his valour, and after-

ings to Buddha, and a great feast, and the bathing of the Court ladies, and processions in which the king, queen, and favourite concubines ride on real ponies (two of which, by the way, the King gave me, and they are to be sent to Hongkong, as his Majesty had given me two young elephants before).

The King sent twice for me during the play—once to talk over the presents he should send to the Queen, and the manner in which his letter would be delivered either by himself or a special representative of himself at Paknam, to which place it must be sent in great state. In the mean time, the telescope was sent for, and the King said it was a beautiful instrument: it was put up by Mr. Bonnie, the engineer of the *Rattler*. The King described the drama to me, and, as far as I could gather, it represented a portion of Malayan history. We remained four hours, when I requested his Majesty's permission to leave, which was granted; but I understand that these dramas sometimes are continued for two or three successive days, and that they generally go on until two or four A.M.

The four commissioners dined with us this afternoon. The Somdetch was rather awkward in the use of the knife and fork: I observed he held the prongs of the fork in his hand, not knowing which end was to be employed. There was great moderation in their use of wine. We drank several toasts, and the English "cheering" amused them not a little. The Kalahom spoke very sensibly about the treaty; so did the prince. They begged us to bear in mind the difficulties they had to encounter, and

especially to arrange that a just and wise consul should be sent.

April 20.—Went over the Wat Po Temple. Measured the length of the great gilded Buddha; it was 52 paces (145 feet), and the length of the sole of the foot 6 paces (17½ feet). Wandered through passages crowded with cross-legged Buddhas: there are nine hundred of them: the height from the foot of the pedestal to the top of the head, about 9 feet. Before one Buddha of enormous height, a gilded elephant was in a state of prostrate adoration, lifting up his tusk, as they are trained to do in homage to their superiors.

Dined with the Prince Krom Hluang Wongsa. An excellent dinner: the soup highly spiced; birds' nests, shark-fins, and sea-slugs were excellent. There was roasted pig, game, delicious fruits, the most remarkable of which was the durian, prepared with cocoa-nut milk, which even the impugners of the durian (I am not one) declared unexceptionably excellent. We had music during the dinner from a band of Siamese, who occupied one of the corners of the large hall. The music was interchanged with songs, and a sort of recitative accompaniment. A Siamese dinner, consisting of nearly one hundred small dishes, was laid on the floor, and, not being touched, was sent to me in the evening. After dinner, we were escorted through sundry apartments. Saw a large collection of weapons, from which several of us were allowed to select a sword in memory of the day. We went to the prince's bedroom, at the side of which several swords were lying. He sent

for the Laos people to play, sing, and dance. Their instruments were bamboos of different sizes, with holes like those of a flute, and a mouthpiece somewhat resembling that of a flageolet: the music was very sweet and plaintive. The dancing was a slow motion, the girls holding a candle in each hand, gracefully turning it round, and exhibiting those exceedingly subtile movements of the arms and fingers which they hold to be particularly graceful and beautiful. Every Siamese lady is trained to move her arms so that the elbow can be brought prominently forward. The prince (as a mark of special favour) said he would allow me to see his favourite Laos wife; and the lady was sent for, who came crawling in, obviously much alarmed. Unlike the Siamese, she had a fine head of hair, very prettily arranged, with a garland of fragrant flowers. Her dress was singularly modest and pleasing, consisting of a silk *pagne*, which fell lightly over her shoulders; a rich scarf around the waist, and the ordinary embroidered vestment round the lower parts of the body; the legs and feet wholly uncovered. The two missionaries who were dining with us (Captain Knox presiding, at the prince's request) were each obliged to leave, being sent for by the First and Second Kings. The children begin to be pleased with the notice they receive: one pet child was called the *tiger*, and he willingly surrendered a sword which one of the suite desired to possess. The prince gave to Captain Keane a sword, which he said he had himself taken in personal conflict with a tall, fierce Birman warrior, whose whole figure was tatooed: the handle

is very long, so long as to balance the blade. We remained till about half-past eight o'clock. The prince said more than once he hoped he should not be allowed to suffer for having so cordially assisted our object. He had been in the Birman districts, engaged in the late war. Of the exploits of the Siamese, Captain Knox gave us a very indifferent account. To fly from rather than to fight the enemy would seem to have been the habit of the Siamese. They lost multitudes of men and elephants in the campaign. *Rattler* safe over bar.

April 21.—Went to Second King's at four o'clock P.M. Saw, in a large plain within the palace, a game played by about twenty horsemen—a sort of equestrian hockey. There are three flags in a line, and at a distance of probably one hundred and fifty yards. Near the centre a ball is placed, and the game is to drive the ball, hitting it with a crooked stick, into a hole at the foot of your party's flag. The horses are kept in a constant gallop; but a dexterous rider and agile player will sometimes succeed, by following up the ball with a succession of blows, to get it beyond the reach of his opponents. The number of players was about ten on each side. There was what was called an elephant's battle. Two elephants walked steadily and soberly up against each other, struck the tusks of their opponents, and pushed with their ponderous bulk till the weaker gave way under the mere pressure of the greater momentum of the stronger. There were many deer in the plain, which the dogs ran after. One elephant seemed much out of humour, and made a great noise.

The Second King avoided talking of political affairs. He has seven children by one wife, who is, of course, a favourite, and who was crouched at a half-open door, watching the attentions we paid to one of her children, a little girl (Pia) mentioned before, who has become quite a favourite, and who brings us wreaths of odoriferous flowers, which she hangs on our arms. She was clad in a European dress to-day, but seemed to suffer from the quantity of gold ornaments on her shoulders, and round her waist and ankles. Prince George, the eldest son, is a very amiable fellow.

The Second King inquired how the First King meant to send his letter to the Queen. I told him it was to go, as I understood, in a Royal procession, and I had been invited to attend. He said he would forward his to accompany it. He gave me a Laos wind instrument of bamboo (very sweet), which he said had been presented to him by the Prince of Laos; also a Laos sword, a collection of coins, and other marks of kindness. He read me the letter he had written for the Queen, of which I recommended him to send also a Siamese version. Tea, &c. was poured out for us by the King himself, with the grace of perfect good breeding.

The First King had twice sent to say that his son, Prince Krom Mun Maha Suen, was, by the King's commands, to give us a dinner to-day at four o'clock. I would have fain escaped this, and answered that I had an engagement with the Second King; but this did not avail, and the dinner was arranged for seven o'clock instead of four. We did not get to the Prince's

palace till half-past eight o'clock, and found that a building had been erected solely for our reception, much like that at Paknam: it was handsomely lighted and prettily arranged. We found the Prince at the head of the room when we entered: he came to meet me, and said it was Siamese usage for the King to give a feast on the conclusion of any important business, and that I was thus welcomed in consequence of the signing of the treaty. He made the usual inquiries about the Queen's health, her age, the number and ages of the Royal children; inquired into the state of China affairs, recommended Siamese ships to my protection. The table was oppressed with the crowded dishes. The Prince sat at his table at the end, while we proceeded down the hall to one apart. There were many Chinese dishes.

I forgot to mention that, in the Somdetch's palace, where the treaty was signed, there was engraved on the stone balustrade opposite us the words, in English capitals, "*Peace be in thy gates.*"

April 22.—Our farewell visit to the commissioners took place to-day. The Phra Kalahom asked me to take some one from Siam to Japan, if we went, and to bring him also two Japanese swords. I promised to do so if possible, but have told him the Japanese are unwilling to part with their possessions. We had much talk about India, Russia, and other countries;—among others, Nepaul. Many presents came to-day from the Second King, the Somdetch Ong Noi, the Prince Krom Hluang, the Phra Kalahom, and the Phra Klang. The Somdetch asked for a breakfast set of silver, with cups corresponding, on

a waiter for a dozen persons; the Kalahom desired books on naval and military gunnery, with plates descriptive; the King wished to have a large reading-glass, and the Prince an opera-glass fit for military use. These Mr. Consul Parkes must take care of. The letter is to be ready to-morrow at nine o'clock. The Siamese translation is to be on a sheet of gold, and I am to receive the golden key which is to lock the box enclosing it.

Went to the missionary service at half-past eleven o'clock. Heard one of my own hymns prettily chanted—"Thy will be done." They expressed great gratitude for the services I have been able to do them, by getting the King to take off the restrictions on their moving about. It is a small return for *many* attentions from them.

April 24.—Messages from the King about the grand ceremonial of the delivery of the Royal letter and presents for the Queen. We went at half-past nine A.M., having a long suite of official barges to conduct us. Chairs, as usual, to convey us to the palace from the wharf where the Royal elephants are bathed. We passed through two lines of guards in all the variety of their arms and costumes—men of Laos, Cambodia, Siam, Kareens, Malays; some in helmets, others in turbans, in many fanciful sorts of head ornaments, in European uniforms, with muskets, spears of every shape and character, cross-bows and shields of many shapes. War elephants and horses, the sound of tom-toms, wind and stringed instruments, announced our arrival. On entering the upper gates of the palace, the King was standing—being clad in blue

satin garments embroidered with gold, and a light azure sash round his waist—in slippers—on an elevated building accessible by many marble steps, where he beckoned me to meet him alone. He took me by the hand, which he held for some time, and described the presents intended for England, which were brought by nobles crawling on all-fours, and hiding their faces in prostration. He said, those intended for the Queen were in a closed box containing his Royal letter, written in Siamese on sheets of gold, and in English by his own hand, and altogether of his own composition, which he hoped her Majesty would herself acknowledge to have received. He more than once said, "Now, as I wrote to her Majesty, her Majesty will, of course, write to me;" and I said, I doubted not that such would be the case, and that her Majesty would certainly appreciate all his kindness and courtesies. Mr. Parkes was then called, and a golden key was placed in his hands, which he was directed to convey to her Britannic Majesty; and the King expressed a great desire to have two copies of the newspapers which should speak of the reception of the letter. He then desired my acceptance of sundry articles of Siamese manufacture, of which Mr. Parkes would be the bearer; and presented me a curious bamboo holding a pipe and a walking-stick, which he said I must keep as a personal remembrance, and gave to Lady B. some specimens of the silver ware of Siam ornamented with gold. He then requested Mr. Parkes to be summoned, and the "gold key" was delivered by me into his hands, with instructions to comply as far as possible with the

wishes of his Majesty; who delivered the packet intended for the Queen, amidst the sounds of music, to an officer, who placed it on a golden throne of state, borne on the shoulders of eight men, surrounded by officers carrying golden umbrellas and other insignia of royalty, who were instructed to convey it to the Royal barge, which was waiting in the river—the same (a splendid and extraordinary specimen of naval architecture) which had conveyed the King to the great temple on the day of our first reception. And at the river-side we found the letter of the Second King, to be delivered to a Royal barge somewhat less gorgeous than that of the First King. We took leave of his Majesty, and followed the boat bearing the letter; and at half-past eleven A.M. the whole of the procession left for Paknam, consisting of an extended suite of Royal barges, rowed by many hundreds of the King's servants; and we reached Paknam after sunset, the Governor of Paklang having sent a handsome collation to us on the river. On the arrival of the letter, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from 68-pounders; and, after dining in the building where we had first been welcomed, several of the dignitaries being in attendance, we went on board his Siamese Majesty's schooner *Lively*, to be conveyed to the *Rattler*, which was waiting for us in the bay.

April 25.—We got on board at half-past six A.M.; but, in consequence of the delay of one of the boats in which coals were taken out to lighten the *Rattler*, we were detained a day. In the course of the morning, two high officers came on board with music to make a formal delivery of the King's letter. They

were received with military honours, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired when the boxes containing the letters and the presents were formally transferred to me. The decks were crowded with presents, animal and vegetable,—pigs, ducks, fowls, eggs, plantains, cocoa-nuts, mangoes,—all sent by the King, whose envoys having expressed great satisfaction at the arrangements made, departed: and so closed a history marvellous in interest, full of romantic excitement, and, as I hope and believe, likely to be followed by the most important and beneficent changes in the commercial and social policy of Siam.

There are still one hundred bags of coal to be taken in, though I hear we shall be able to depart soon after break of day.

The King has asked for a couple of reading chairs from England: he also wished for three shells and three rockets from the ships of war. I am sorry I was only able to obtain one shell and one rocket from the naval authorities.

A missionary mentioned to me that the King, when a bonze, and carrying on his studies in the temple to which he retreated, had gathered around him many young men, whom he was fond of instructing in European sciences, and encouraging them to study the progress of knowledge. He illustrated his views by the following allegory:—Two men start from the jungle loaded with the coarse articles it produces—the fibres of the hemp, for example: they move onwards, and come to a place where there is more valuable material, as cotton. The foolish and unimproveable man persists in carrying his coarse and

unprofitable burden of hemp; his wiser companion exchanges his hemp for the finer and more valuable material. They still move on, and come to a silk district. The fool sticks to his hemp, the wise barters his cotton for silk: and thus they reach the end of their journey, one exhausted with carrying an almost worthless and heavy load, the other having brought with ease a profitable and valuable investment.

It is repeated of the King that he had determined to found a reformed system of Buddhism, which should recognise the existence of an all-creating, all-controlling God, and purify Buddhism from the corruptions and traditions of the priests. He once said to the missionaries, in speaking of the creation of the world: "How could the world have been made without a Maker, whom you call God, and others call by other names?"

APPENDIX.

A.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE HISTORY OF SIAM.*

[Reprinted from the *Chinese Repository.*]

I AM just availing myself of an opportunity for searching into some pages of Siamese ancient history, and beg to state that our ancient capital, Ayuthia, before the year A.D. 1350, was but the ruin of an ancient place belonging to Kambuja (now known as Cambodia), formerly called Lawék, whose inhabitants then possessed Southern Siam, or Western Kambuja. Ayuthia is situated in lat. 14° 19′ N., and long. 100° 37′ E. from Greenwich. There were other cities, not far remote, also possessed by the Kambujans; but their precise locality, or much of their history, cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained. Some time near the year A.D. 1300, the former inhabitants were much diminished by frequent wars with the northern Siamese and the Peguans, or *Mons*—so that these cities were vacated, or left in a ruinous state, and nothing remained but their names.

Former inhabitants declared that the people of Chiang-rái, a province of what is now called Chiang-mái (North Laos), and Kampengpet, being frequently subjected to great annoyance from their enemies, deserted their native country, and formed a new establishment at Ch'á-liang, in the western part of Siam Proper; and built a city which they called Thepha-mahá-nakhon, whence has been preserved, in the national records, the name of our capital down to the present day, Krung-Thepha-

* These notices were written by the King of Siam, and prepared for the press by Dr. Dean.

mahá-na-khon. Their city was about lat. 16° N. and long. 99° E., and there five kings of the first dynasty reigned, until the sixth, named U-T'ong Rámá-thi-bodi, ascended the throne in 1344. This king, it is said, was son-in-law of his predecessor, who was named Sirichai Chiang Sen, who was without male issue, and therefore the throne descended to the son-in-law by right of the royal daughter. U-T'ong Rámá-thi-bodi was a mightier prince than any of his predecessors, and subsequently conquered and subjected to his sway all Southern Siam, and some provinces in the Malayan peninsula. He made Ch'á-liang the seat of his government for six years, and then, in consequence of the prevalence of disease of a pestilential character, he caused various researches to be made for some more healthy location, and finally fixed upon the site of Ayuthia, and there founded his new capital in April, 1350 This date is an ascertained fact. From this period our Siamese annals are more exact, and the accounts generally reliable, being accompanied by dates of days, months, and years, from 1350 to 1767.

Ayuthia, when founded, was gradually improved, and became more and more populous by natural increase, and the settlement there of families of Laos, Kambujans, Peguans, people from Yunnán in China who had been brought there as captives, and by Chinese and Mussulmen from India, who came for purposes of trade. Here reigned fifteen kings of one dynasty, successors of and belonging to the family of U-T'ong Rámá-thi-bodi, who, after his death, was honourably designated as Phra Chetha Bidá—*i. e.*, "Royal Elder-brother Father." This line was interrupted by one interloping usurper between the thirteenth and fourteenth. The last king was Mahíntrá-thi-rát. During his reign, the renowned King of Pegu, named Chamna-dischop, gathered an immense army, consisting of Peguans, Burmese, and inhabitants of Northern Siam, and made an attack upon Ayuthia. The ruler of Northern Siam was Mahá-thamma rájá, related to the fourteenth king as son-in-law, and to the last as brother-in-law.

After a siege of three months, the Peguans took Ayuthia, but did not destroy it or its inhabitants, the Peguan monarch contenting himself with capturing the King and Royal Family to take with him as trophies to Pegu, and delivered the country over to be governed by Mahá-thamma rájá as a dependency. The King of Pegu also took back with him the oldest son of Mahá-thamma rájá as a hostage: his name was Phra Naret. This conquest of Ayuthia by the King of Pegu took place A.D. 1556.

This state of dependence and tribute continued but a few years. The King of Pegu deceased. In the confusion incident to the elevation of his son as his successor, Prince Náret escaped with his family, and, attended by many Peguans of influence, commenced his return to his native land. The new King, on hearing of his escape, despatched an army to seize and bring him back. They followed him till he had crossed the Si-thong (Burman, Sit-thaung) river, when he turned against the Peguan army, shot the commander, who fell from his elephant dead, and then proceeded in safety to Ayuthia.

War with Pegu followed, and Siam again became independent. On the demise of Mahá-thamma rájá, Prince Náret succeeded to the throne, and became one of the mightiest and most renowned rulers Siam ever had. In his wars with Pegu, he was accompanied by his younger brother, Eká-tassa-rot, who succeeded Náret in the throne, but, on account of mental derangement, was soon removed, and Phra Siri Sin Wi-montham was called by the nobles from the priesthood to the throne. He had been very popular as a learned and religious teacher, and commanded the respect of all the public counsellors, but he was not of the Royal Family. His coronation took place in A.D. 1602. There had preceded him a race of nineteen kings, excepting one usurper. The new King committed all authority in government to a descendant of the former line of kings; and to him also he intrusted his sons for education, reposing confidence in him as capable of main-

taining the Royal authority over all the tributary provinces. This officer thus became possessed of the highest dignity and power. His master had been raised to the throne at an advanced age. During the twenty-six years he was on the throne, he had three sons born under the Royal canopy (*i.e.*, the great white umbrella, one of the insignia of royalty). After the demise of the King, at an extreme old age, the personage whom he had appointed as Regent, in full council of the nobles, raised his eldest son, then sixteen years old, to the throne. A short time after, the Regent caused the second son to be slain, under the pretext of a rebellion against his elder brother. Those who were envious of the Regent excited the King to revenge his brother's death as causeless, and plan the Regent's assassination; but he, being seasonably apprised of it, called a council of nobles, and dethroned him after one year's reign, and then raised his youngest brother, the third son, to the throne.

He was only eleven years old. His extreme youth, and fondness for play rather than politics or government, soon created discontent. Men of office saw that it was exposing their country to contempt, and sought for some one who might fill the place with dignity. The Regent was long accustomed to all the duties of the government, and had enjoyed the confidence of their late venerable King; so, with one voice, the child was dethroned, and the Regent exalted under the title of Phra Chau Pra Sath-thong.* This event occurred A.D. 1630. The King was said to have been connected with the former dynasty both paternally and maternally, but the connexion must have been quite remote and obscure. Under the reign of the priest-king, he bore the title Raja Suriwong, as indicating a remote connexion with the Royal Family. From him descended a line of ten kings, who reigned at Ayuthia and Lopha-buri (Louvo of French writers).* This line was once interrupted by an usurper between the fourth and fifth reigns. This usurper was the foster-father of an unacknowledged though real son of the fourth king, Chau Nárái.

During his reign many European merchants established themselves and their trade in the country, among whom was Constantine Phaulkon (Faulkon). He became a great favourite, through his skill in business, his suggestions, and superintendence of public works after European models, and by his presents of many articles regarded by the people of those days as great curiosities, such as telescopes, &c.

King Nárái, the most distinguished of all Siamese rulers, before or since, being highly pleased with the services of Constantine, conferred on him the title of Chau Phyá Wichayentrá-thé-bodi, under which title there devolved on him the management of the government in all the northern provinces of the country. He suggested to the King the plan of erecting a fort, on European principles, as a protection to the capital. This was so acceptable a proposal, that, at the King's direction, he was authorized to select the location and construct the fort. He selected a territory which was then employed as garden-ground, but is now the territory of Bángkok. On the west bank, near the mouth of a canal, now called Báng-luang, he constructed a fort, which bears the name of Wichayen's Fort to this day. It is close to the residence of his Royal Highness Chaufá-noi Kromma Khun Isaret rangsan. This fort and circumjacent territory was called Thana-buri. A wall was erected, enclosing a space of about a hundred yards on a side. Another fort was built on the east side of the river, where the walled city of Bangkok now stands. The ancient name Bángkôk was in use when the whole region was a garden. Such names abound now, as Bang-cha, Bang-phra, Bang-plá-soi, &c.—*Báng* signifying a small stream or canal (such as is seen in gardens). The above-mentioned fort was erected about the year A.D. 1675.

This extraordinary European also induced his grateful sovereign King Nárái to repair the old city of Lopha-buri (Louvo), and construct there an extensive Royal palace on the principles of European architecture. On the north of this palace, Constantine erected an extensive and beautiful collec-

tion of buildings for his own residence. Here also he built a Romish church on which are still to be seen some inscriptions in European letters, supposed to be in Dutch or German; they assuredly are neither French nor English (perhaps they are Greek, as he was of Greek extraction, and born at Cephalonia). The ruins of all these edifices and their walls are still to be seen (and are said to be a great curiosity). It is moreover stated that he planned the construction of canals with reservoirs at intervals for bringing water from the mountains on the north-east to the city Lopha-buri, and conveying it through earthen and copper pipes and syphons, so as to supply the city in the dry season, on the same principle as that adopted in Europe. He commenced also a canal with embankments to the holy place called Phra-Bat, about twenty-five miles south-west from the city [of Lopha-buri]. He made an artificial pond on the summit of Phra-Bat mountain, and thence by means of copper tubes and stop-cocks conveyed abundance of water to the kitchen and bath-rooms of the Royal residence at the foot of the mountains. His works were not completed when misfortune overtook him.

Many Siamese officers and Royal ministers were jealous of his influence, and murmured their suspicions of his being a secret rebel. At length he was accused of designing to put the King to death by inviting him to visit the church he had built, between the walls of which, it is said, he had inserted a quantity of gunpowder, which was to be ignited by a match at a given signal, and thus involve the death of the King. On this serious charge he was assassinated by private order of the King. (This is the traditional story; the written annals state that he was slain in his sedan while faithful to his King, by order of a rebel prince, who perceived he could not succeed in his nefarious plans against the throne while Constantine lived.) The works which he left half done are now generally in ruins, viz., the canal to Phra-Bat and the aqueduct at the mountains.

After the demise of Narai, his unacknowledged son, born

of a princess of Yunnan or Chiang-Mai, and intrusted for training to the care of Phya Petcha raja, slew Nárái's son and heir, and constituted his foster-father King, himself acting as prime minister till the death of his foster-father, fifteen years after; he then assumed the Royal state himself. He is ordinarily spoken of as Nai Dua. Two of his sons and two of his grandsons subsequently reigned at Ayuthia. The youngest of these grandsons reigned only a short time, and then surrendered the Royal authority to his brother, and entered the priesthood. While this brother reigned, in the year 1759, the Burman King Meng-laung Alaung Barah-gyi came with an immense army, marching in three divisions on as many distinct routes, and combined at last in the siege of Ayuthia. The Siamese King Chaufa Ekadwat Anurak Montri made no resolute effort of resistance. His great officers disagreed in their measures. The inhabitants of all the smaller towns were indeed called behind the walls of the city, and ordered to defend it to their utmost ability; but jealousy and dissension rendered all their bravery useless. Sallies and skirmishes were frequent, in which the Burmese were generally the victorious party. The siege was continued two years. The Burmese commander-in-chief Mahá Nōratha died, but his principal officers elected another in his place. At the end of the two years, the Burmese, favoured by the dry season, when the waters were shallow, crossed in safety, battered the walls, broke down the gates, and entered the city without resistance. The provisions of the Siamese were exhausted, confusion reigned, and the Burmese fired the city and public buildings. The King, badly wounded, escaped with his flying subjects, but soon died alone, of his wounds and sorrows. He was subsequently discovered and buried. His brother, who was in the priesthood, and now the most important personage in the country, was captured by the Burmans, to be conveyed in triumph to Burmah. They perceived that the country was too remote from their own to be governed by them; they therefore freely plundered the inhabitants, beating, wounding,

and even killing many families, to induce them to disclose treasures which they supposed were hidden by them. By these measures the Burmese officers enriched themselves with most of the wealth of the country. After two or three months spent in plunder, they appointed a person of Mon or Peguan origin as ruler over Siam, and withdrew with numerous captives, leaving this Peguan officer to gather fugitives and property to convey to Burmah at some subsequent opportunity. This officer was named Phyá Nái Kông, and made his head-quarters about three miles north of the city, at a place called Phō Sam-ton, *i. e.* "the Three Sacred Fig-trees." One account relates that the last King mentioned above, when he fled from the city wounded, was apprehended by a party of travellers, and brought into the presence of Phyá Nái Kông in a state of great exhaustion and illness;—that he was kindly received, and respectfully treated, as though he was still the sovereign, and that Phyá Nái Kông promised to confirm him again as ruler of Siam, but his strength failed, and he died a few days after his apprehension.

The conquest by Burmah, the destruction of Ayuthia, and appointment of Phyá Nái Kông, took place in March, A.D. 1767. This date is unquestionable. The period between the foundation of Ayuthia and its overthrow by the Burmans embraces four hundred and seventeen years, during which there were thirty-three kings of three distinct dynasties—of which the first dynasty had nineteen kings, with one usurper; the second had three kings; and the third had nine kings, and one usurper.

When Ayuthia was conquered by the Burmese in March, 1767, there remained in the country many bands of robbers associated under brave men as their leaders. These parties had continued their depredations since the first appearance of the Burman army, and during about two years had lived by plundering the quiet inhabitants, having no government to fear. On the return of the Burman troops to their own

country, these parties of robbers had various skirmishes with each other during the year 1767.

The first King established at Bangkok was an extraordinary man of Chinese origin, named Pin Tat. He was called by the Chinese Tia Sin Tat, or Tuat. He was born at a village called Bánták in Northern Siam, in lat. 16° N. The date of his birth was in March, 1734. At the capture of Ayuthia he was thirty-three years old. Previous to that time he had obtained the office of second governor of his own township Ták; and next he obtained the office of governor of his own town under the dignified title of Phyá Ták, which name he bears to the present day. During the reign of the last King of Ayuthia, he was promoted to the office and dignity of governor of the city of Kam-Cheng-philet, which from times of antiquity was called the capital of the western province of Northern Siam. He obtained this office by bribing the high minister of the King Chaufá Ekadwat Anurak Montri (?), and being a brave warrior, he was called to Ayuthia on the arrival of the Burman troops as a member of the council. But when sent to resist the Burman troops who were harassing the eastern side of the city, perceiving that the Ayuthian Government was unable to resist the enemy, he with his followers fled to Chantaburi (Chantabun), a town on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam, in lat. 12½° N., and long. 101° 21′ E. There he united with many brave men who were robbers and pirates, and subsisted by robbing the villages and merchant-vessels. In this way he became the great military leader of the district, and had a force of more than ten thousand men. He soon formed a treaty of peace with the headman of Báng-plásoi, a district on the north, and with Kambuja and Annam (or Cochin China) on the south-east. But afterward he broke friendship with the former, and killed the headman of Báng-plásoi. This headman, or governor, was invited on board to an entertainment, where he was rendered intoxicated, and then plunged into the sea. Phyá Ták went on shore, and

violently took possession of the garrison, the governor's family, and all the property. The people of this district becoming his subjects, he compelled them to cut timber, and construct many war-boats of considerable size, determining to proceed by water to take possession of Ayuthia and expel the Burmese. Ayuthia was so situated, that if he failed in expelling the Burmese, he could easily make his escape by sea, or he might make an invasion upon Annam and Kambuja.

There were two brothers, sons of a nobleman of high rank, the keeper of the royal seal during the reign of the last King. The elder of these was born April, 1636 (1736?), and the younger in September or October, 1643. They were both talented and courageous, men of wealth, and much respected by the inhabitants of Ayuthia during the reign of the last King. The elder married the daughter of one of the highest families of Rajaburi, a most beautiful and amiable woman. (Rajaburi lies in lat. 13° 24′ N., and long. 100° 6′ E.) The younger married a lady in Ayuthia, and for a time was in the King's service; but when the first King, Chaufa Kroma K'un Bhoraphinit, resumed the throne, during the Burman war, fearing that the Ayuthian powers would not be able to resist the Burman arms, he left the King's service. At the time of this siege by the Burmans, the father of these brave men left his family at Ayuthia, and went to Pitsanutōk, an ancient city of Northern Siam in lat. 17° N., seeking a retreat where his family might be protected from the enemy. Before his return, Ayuthia was taken and burnt by the Burmans. Then the elder brother repaired with his family to the residence of his father-in-law. The younger brother remained with no fixed residence, but for a time lived with his sister at Bangkok. While here, news reached him that the Burman troops in considerable numbers had proceeded to the district where his brother had retired, dispersed the inhabitants, and garrisoned Bang-Koang; and that his brother with his family and friends had fled to a forest on the sea-coast to secrete themselves from the Burmans, who were seeking Siamese captives and

treasure to send to their general at Ayuthia. He also heard that his old friend General Phyá Ták had gained a high military renown, and had under his command at Chantibun more than ten thousand men, waiting to expel the Burmese, and gain to himself the sovereignty of Siam.

Rejoicing in this intelligence, he left his family and property with his sister, and with his chosen friends proceeded overland to Chantibun *viâ* Bang-plasoi, to visit the general. On his arrival at Chantibun, being weary, he went to the river to refresh himself with a bath before presenting himself to the general. At this moment, General Phyá Ták, hearing of the arrival of his honoured friend, hastened with joy to receive him, and conducted him from the river to his own residence, to sit at his table and share his own bed. This nobleman became Phyá Ták's constant companion and favourite, accompanying him whenever duty called him from home. They were ever consulting how they might bring into subjection the various bands of robbers in Siam and Laos, and prevent the future invasion of the Burmans. One day, when a large Annamese vessel entered the port of Chantibun to sell rice, the general sent his honoured friend with a few soldiers to take the vessel. He obeyed the command, and destroyed all the Annamese on board, and after an absence of two hours brought the vessel, full of rice, to the general. Upon this the general was so much pleased, that he divided with him his own apparel, and proclaimed to all under him that his honoured friend was of equal authority with himself.

At the end of the year 1767, General Phyá Ták loaded all the war-boats he had completed with provisions of war, and sent a number of his troops as an escort with the boats across the gulf to the mouth of the river at Paknam. After this, he appointed his honoured friend the chief in command of the forces that were to proceed by land to Paknam, while he himself with ten thousand men went overland to Bangkok. At Bangkok many parties attached themselves to him for self-preservation, and made over to him their supplies of pro-

vision. With this reinforcement, he and his honoured friend proceeded to Ayuthia, overcame the Burmans under the command of Phya Nai Kông, put the commander to death—took possession of the money, provisions, and ammunitions of war. Here also he found new acquisitions of faithful followers. They vanquished the Burmese also at Bhōsamtan; then the general and his favourite returned to Ayuthia, took possession of the palace, and slept in the Royal bedchamber. Here they consulted how they might re-establish the Siamese Government, and fortify the city of Ayuthia. But they soon decided that their force was inadequate to defend themselves at Ayuthia, and therefore resolved to establish themselves at the small fortified city of Thanaburi at Bangkok. This was a central place and a favourable position, being surrounded by deep marshy or swampy grounds, which would afford a better protection against the approach of the enemy than at Ayuthia. Moreover, Bangkok being nearer the sea, afforded a better opportunity to escape, should the Burmese return with an increased force. He therefore appointed a friend as an officer to take charge of Ayuthia, as a dependent of the new Government; and himself with his forces returned to Bangkok, established his capital, and built his palace on the west side of the river, near the fort which remains to this day.

He afterwards learned that numerous Burman troops were stationed at Bangkoong. He immediately proceeded thither through a canal, accompanied by his favourite and a considerable force, and encamped near the enemy. From here he directed his favourite to pass on in fast boats, with a brave band of soldiers, before the Burmese should be aware of their approach. They passed on, and immediately arrived at the frontier of the Burmese camp, and in early morning commenced an attack upon the stockades erected around it. The Burmans heard the onset, and a few rushed out to defend themselves; but, unprepared for the attack, they made a slight, ineffectual resistance, and soon, believing all opposition ineffectual, fled in disorder, leaving all their valuables behind

them. Some were killed, some captured. The conquest was so prompt, that though the General Phyá Ták had heard the discharge of fire-arms, and hurried on to the rescue, ere he had reached the enemy's camp, the favourite had obtained a complete victory, and was in possession of the camp and all its treasures.

At this time Phyá Ták secured many implements of war, and much that was valuable which the Burmans had captured from the Siamese. They found Royal boats, palanquins, and a variety of articles manufactured from gold and silver. The King made a division of these articles, giving a large portion to his favourite, to be distributed at discretion as rewards among their prominent followers. The King then appointed officers to govern this province and re-people it as far as practicable; after which he and his favourite returned with their treasures to Bangkok in a Royal boat which they had recaptured in this expedition.

Again returned to Bangkok, he sent out colonies with appropriate officers in various directions, to renew trade and act as a defence against parties of robbers lurking in distant parts of the country. Phyá Ták himself was far from being idle. He found a majority of the people ready to throw off all allegiance to Burman sway and to enlist in his service. Where he found a few ready to oppose, he soon subdued them to his sway. At the end of the year 1768, he saw himself Sovereign of all Southern Siam, and the eastern province bordering on the Gulf. It was proper that he should maintain a state suitable to his power, and his favourite was the first to give an example of perfect loyalty and respect, and entire consecration of service. Neither did the King fail to reciprocate all the confidence of his favourite. He made him general of all his forces; and they consulted with each other, and with the prominent officers, how they might recover the allegiance of all the provinces which had formerly been under the sovereignty of the Kings of Siam. The favourite stood ready to go in any direction, following the will of his honoured

King, and attempt any service which might promote the honour and dignity of his Majesty. The King laid out the provinces already subdued into townships, and appointed officers of state, military chiefs, and judges, following the precedents of the ancient sovereigns. He consulted with his favourite respecting plans for regulating the public policy, adopting laws to promote the wellbeing of the country, and devising means of defence against the Burmans, who would undoubtedly again invade the kingdom. He was ambitious to restore the kingdom to its former consequence; and with such an adviser as he found in his favourite, he was assured that success in any reasonable enterprise was easy.

His confidence in his favourite knew no bounds. He insisted upon knowing all his kindred, that he might honour them with rank and dignity worthy their alliance. In the frequent inquiries of the King, the general told him that he had an elder brother superior to himself in every noble quality—brave, bold, and wise. He related how his brother had fled from Ayuthia when the city was taken by the Burmans, and dwelt for a while with his father-in-law; and from thence, when the Burmans had penetrated into that province, how he and his family had concealed themselves in a wood at Bangkoong. Since the late conquest of Bangkoong, peace being restored, he said his brother and family had returned to their old residence, and were living very happily under the protection of the Siamese governor whom the King had lately appointed over that province.

As soon as the King knew of this person, so worthy and so nearly allied by blood to his tried favourite, he ordered a fast-boat to be made ready, appointed appropriate guards, and sent to invite this personage to repair with his family immediately to the capital. He soon after reached the city, when the King received him with due hospitality, bestowing various valuable articles of apparel and other suitable presents. The first object of the King was to prove the worth of this new friend by placing him in posts to try his wisdom, prudence,

and valour. Having found him in every respect worthy, and delighted with his skill and industry, he advanced him from post to post in offices of trust till he was equal in power with his honoured brother, and from that time they were called the senior and junior generals.

In the second year of the reign of Phyá Ták, these two generals were sent to the northern province with a great army to conquer Monkut Kummamun Tephaphip, who had assumed the title of the *Prince of Koráth*. This prince had acquired considerable power, and seemed opposed to the Sovereign of Siam; but he had for a few years past made no hostilities, waiting for reinforcements to his arms. He had feared, too, the speedy return of the Burmans, not knowing, as did the King, that the Chinese were warring with that nation, having entered the kingdom in two different directions with a force some eighty thousand strong. Burmah had had enough to do at home for the last three or four years, without avenging herself of her enemies abroad. The King of Siam was acquainted with this fact, and availed himself of this respite to subdue his enemies in what was lawfully the kingdom of Siam; and among these he reckoned the Prince of Korath, and he was now to make an attempt to bring him into his power.

To give a particular account of this Prince of Korath, we must review briefly the close of the ancient history of Ayuthia. This prince was the son of Bromakát, King of Siam, the seventh of the last dynasty of ancient Ayuthia, and the esteemed father of its two last kings. The title of this prince, Monkut Kummamun, denoted less rank than that of Chaufa, the title of his two younger brothers. This was not because he was deficient in prudence, ability, or integrity, but owing to inferiority in his maternal descent; and it was on this account that he was not elevated to the throne on the demise of his father, but the crown given to his two brothers in succession.

Owing to this exclusion from the throne, and certain

restrictions laid on him by the people, he became an object of suspicion to the reigning monarch. His youngest brother once raised to the throne, seemed constantly watching an opportunity to bring the prince into his kingly power. To avoid the danger which constantly threatened him, he obtained permission from his Majesty the King to enter the priesthood of Budha, in imitation of the King's brother, of whom we have before spoken. Even this did not allay the King's suspicion. The prince increased this distrust by fortifying his residence at the *wat* by stockades adequate for the protection of himself and military forces. On this account, the King caused him to be seized and put on board a Dutch ship, to be released at Ceylon, at which place the King knew there was a nation of Budhists, with whom his brother might live as a priest, and thus free him from fear without the guilt of putting the object of his suspicion to death.

The prince left Siam with a few servants, and arrived in Ceylon in the year 1758 or 1759. He remained in the island, under the protection of its king, some four or five years. At the end of this period, hearing, through certain Dutch merchants, that the Burmans were about to make war upon Siam, he concluded this was a proof of the King's wickedness and ignorance, and felt that on this same account he had been excluded from the throne. He therefore watched his opportunity, came out from the priesthood, secured a passage on board a Dutch ship bound for the Malay peninsula; and from here he made his way to Tavoy, a port in that part of Burmah bordering on the Bay of Bengal, which this nation ceded to the English in their last war. From Tavoy he journeyed by land, reached Siam, and took up his residence at Nakôn Nayok, a town about forty miles from Ayuthia. Here he collected a considerable force from the south-eastern portion of the country to assist the Siamese in opposing the invading enemy. He sent private letters to some of the officers of Government, and to many of the noblemen, instigating them to dethrone the reigning monarch, and at the same time assuring them, if he

could be instated in his Majesty's place, he would free the country from the invading enemy in two years, and offering to come privately to the city to assist them in accomplishing these objects. Many of the chief officers and noblemen were pleased with the idea, and replied to the prince's letters, that they would gladly give him their utmost assistance in securing the sovereignty, and their warmest support in opposing the enemy. They further advised that he should hasten to repair to the city.

At this time, the siege was already commenced, provisions were scarce in the city, and the Burmans were elated with the prospect of immediate conquest. Many of the Siamese fled, and placed themselves under the protection of the prince at Nakôn Nayok. Some of this number advised the prince to repair privately to Ayuthia and oppose the invaders; others assured him that his forces were entirely inadequate to secure a conquest, and advised him to secrete himself in some retired wood, or to repair to some other country and secure an acquisition to his forces.

While he was delaying, his mind unsettled by opposite counsels, Ayuthia was destroyed by the Burmans. Many Siamese noblemen escaped the captivity of their enemies. Some took refuge in the northern frontiers of Siam; some fled to Ligor, and, with the people of that province, assumed the attitude of defence, and in the name of the King protected their own little realm. Another party fled to Nakôn Nayok, and put themselves under the protection of the prince. The prince, hearing that Ayuthia was destroyed, and afterwards that the Burmans were taking measures to capture those Siamese who had fled from the capital, took the alarm himself, and fled with his attendants from Nakôn Nayok, and penetrated into a large forest called Dong Phyafai, lying between Southern Siam and the north-western province of which Korath is the principal city.

Korath (pronounced Korat) is a city inhabited by some thirty thousand Siamese. Its latitude and longitude have not

been accurately determined: it is, perhaps, some 15° or 16° North latitude, and about 100° or 102° East longitude. It is strongly fortified by a brick wall more impregnable than that around Bangkok, but only about one-third of its extent. Around Korath are many towns and villages inhabited by Laos, wild Kambodians, Karens, &c. &c. The prince easily secured the allegiance of Korath and the adjacent towns and villages, and ere long established a government not unlike that formerly administered at Ayuthia.

In this north-western province the Prince of Korath was supreme, and he had ability worthy of extended sovereignty; but he had not that intrepidity of character which would lead him to dare all to secure extended sway. During the few years of his reign at Korath, there had rather been a decrease of followers. At the time of the command of the King to his two brave generals to march a band of soldiers into the province ruled by the Prince of Korath, he was ill prepared to defend himself against so much bravery.

When he learned that forces were approaching by the King's order under generals that feared no danger, his heart failed him. He remembered that among his own followers were many noblemen from Ayuthia, who had formerly known and admired these brave men. He knew his own success, should he attempt opposition, was very doubtful: indeed, his own downfall seemed certain to him, and consternation pervaded the city and surrounding towns and villages. The prince dared not trust himself to an encounter; he therefore left the city with his family and a few tried friends, and fled to an adjoining town, seeming ready to flee at the approach of danger.

He left the care of the city to his Ayuthian followers, and ordered them to resist the enemy at the point of the sword. The officers to whom this charge was left had little interest in the opposition, and therefore engaged only in a few skirmishes. Many, indeed, who had known and highly esteemed the senior general, surrendered themselves immediately to his sway, and by their influence brought over many others who had become

alienated from the prince on account of, as they believed, his cowardly leaving the post of danger. With such advantages, the city of Korath was easily brought under the power of the senior general: he, on his part, was highly delighted with so strong a hold as Korath, and still more to add to his band many tried and faithful followers, who, he was assured, would remain firm to his interests.

The Prince of Korath, on hearing of the success of the senior general, was filled with entire distrust of his followers. To secure his life, he fled with his family and relatives, and himself again entered the priesthood. But this recourse now failed to shield him: he was taken prisoner, and brought to Bangkok with many captives from the northern province, which from that time has been subject to the King of Siam. When the prince arrived at Bangkok, Phyá Ták treated him with some respect, and allowed him to live at a wat or temple at Bangkok noi, called, at the present day, Wat Anurat Aram. After a few days' residence here, the King's jealousy was excited by seeing many of the people visit the prince at the wat who had known him at Ayuthia; the King therefore ordered him to be put to death.

Many of the noblemen who came from Ayuthia were unwilling to be introduced to the King. Their sympathies were all enlisted for the senior general; and moreover, they considered him of higher rank than the King, being prejudiced against the latter from the fact that he was of Chinese descent. These gentlemen formed the private household and attendants of the senior general, secluded from the observation, and even the knowledge, of his Majesty.

The King's great concern now was to subdue the provinces which yet were alien from him; and at the end of the third year of his reign he had conquered all Northern Siam. The King went himself on an expedition against the high-priest Port-fang Bukultara, who had received his office from the hands of the King of Ayuthia, and was bishop throughout Northern Siam. He had his residence at a place about lati-

tude 18° North, and longitude 100° 30′ East. At the time the Burman army besieged Ayuthia, all the governors of every town and city in Northern Siam were ordered to the capital by the King. The high-priest Bukultara, by means of his priestly office, controlled all the towns in the north. When the Burmans destroyed Ayuthia, and obtained supremacy in Southern Siam, the high-priest assumed the sovereignty at the north, and appointed many of his kindred and pupils to be governors and judges in the towns and villages throughout Northern Siam, claiming to himself the revenue of the whole country, which was formerly paid to the King at Ayuthia. He also organized military forces for the defence of the country against the invasion of the Burmans. He still retained his priestly robes, and simply changed his residence for one near to the celebrated pagoda called Phra Farung, a fortified place. Phyá Ták directed his course to this stronghold (within this enclosure Phyá Ták afterwards took a white elephant, the foal of one owned by the sovereign priest). When the priest heard of his approach, he was so confident of defeat, that he fled alone, before the attack, into the country of the Laos. The King having consummated the design of the expedition, sent for his relatives from the towns of Rakeng and Ták, appointed them princes and princesses suitable to their relationship to his Majesty the King.

In the fourth year of his reign, or the year 1772, the King made an expedition into the Malay peninsula, with the design of taking possession of Lagor. In this province, the governor appointed by the King of Ayuthia, when the Burmans were victorious, assumed the supremacy, made his royal proclamation, and filled every office, following his own will. Many noblemen with their families fled from Ayuthia, and took up their residence at Lagor and other towns in the Malay peninsula, and were quiet, worthy subjects everywhere. The governor took the the title of King of Lagor, and his family that of prince and princess. The honour which they received from the people made them proud and overbearing, though

they had not failed frequently to hear of the achievements of Phyá Ták. The King felt such pride in the country he governed, and such confidence in his people, that he considered his power sufficient for defence: besides, he was sure the Burmans would ere long return with redoubled force, and revenge themselves upon the usurpations of Phyá Ták.

When Phyá Ták arrived with his navy of brave marines, and his armed forces by land, the King of Lagor prepared for defence, and there were for a few days several warm encounters; but misunderstandings and suspicions soon arose among the natives of the country. Some became alienated from their king, and some were the spies of Phyá Ták. The King of Lagor becoming aware of the fact, lost his confidence in his power to oppose the invading army. He decided to leave his country and all his adherents, and save his life alone. He therefore left the city privately at night, and fled in haste to Patani, a town in the Malay peninsula, on the western coast of the Gulf of Siam, about 6° North latitude, and placed himself under the protection of his former friend, the Raja of Patani. When the King of Siam had learned that the King of Lagor had placed himself under the Raja of Patani, he wrote to the Raja that if he did not give him up, he would come with an armed force and lay waste the country. On receiving this communication, the Raja of Patani, through fear of the threatened consequences, immediately gave up the King of Lagor to the Siamese messengers, who took him prisoner to the King of Siam.

The King Phyá Ták, in the mean time, had taken Lagor, captured the Royal Family, and many noblemen of high rank, with their property and servants; and a few days after the capture of the King of Lagor, returned to Bangkok with all his booty. The King of Lagor had a fair daughter, whom the King of Siam gave a place in his harem, and on her account saved the life of all her family, allowing her father to seek his own pleasure anywhere in the capital.

At the end of three or four years, the beautiful daughter of

the King of Lagor presented his Majesty with a son. The King was delighted, declaring that an heir to the throne of Lagor was born. Fearing no longer that the King of Lagor would wish to avenge his former enemies, he allowed him to return to his own country, restored to him the office formerly bestowed by the King of Siam, and gave up to him all the captives he had taken from the country. This was in the year 1776. From that time to the present, the government of Lagor has been administered by the descendants of the King of Lagor taken captive by Phyá Ták; and through the power of this province, fifteen or sixteen townships of the Malay country have been made subject to the Siamese King, among which are Kedah, Patini, Kalantan, Tringano, &c.

At the end of the fourth or fifth year of the reign of Phyá Ták, the Siamese ceased to carry their arms into Burmah. The Burmese, therefore, had time to think of avenging their enemies, the Siamese. They contemplated no less a project than that of subduing Phyá Ták, whom they regarded as an usurper. The King of Burmah thought that the King of Siam would be an easy prey to his arms, from the fact that the Siamese forces were made up of undisciplined soldiers taken from the forests; or if they had some of them learned war, it was before they were enrolled in the King's army. Being conquered captives, they could hardly fail to be wanting in bravery. With these impressions, he sent a force adequate, as he supposed, for the accomplishment of his purpose. But the forces he sent were already weary from the long defence they had been making against the Chinese; besides, they were not eager for conquest, and the brave Phyá Ták, with his tried generals, who had expected an invasion from the Burmese, were ready, not only to defend themselves when attacked, but to go out and meet the foe. Far from the capital, the two armies met in combat, when the Siamese obtained a most glorious victory, killing many men of war, and taking many captives. Since that time the Burmans have almost

every year sent forces into the Siamese possessions, but they have uniformly been conquered. And at the present time there are some provinces at the north, of which Chiang Mai is one, which are disputed territory, being claimed by the Siamese, but subject to the Burmese. They are now waiting the command of the Burman King to renew hostilities in Siam.

B.

ACCOUNT, BY THE KING OF SIAM, OF THE ATTACK UPON THE BURMESE CITY OF CHIANGTOONG, IN 1854.

INFORMATION has been issued at the city of Bangkok, from the Siamese army despatched to the northern parts of the realm, to endeavour to take possession of the city of Chiangtoong, belonging to the Burman Empire, situated in latitude 22° North. The particulars are subjoined.

The city of Chiangtoong being still unsubdued at the end of the campaign of last year, the army went into quarters for the rainy season at Muang Nand, a Laos great town, situated in latitude 18° 20′ North. Here they remained some eight months, when, the rains being fairly over, on the 15th of January last (1854), his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh, the commander-in-chief, with all his forces, left Muang Nand, and, after a twenty days' march, arrived at Chiangrai, a town on the extreme northern frontiers of the Siamese territories. Here he remained one month, awaiting the coming up of the troops; collecting, in the mean time, stores of provisions, supplies, &c.

On the 25th of February, the army resumed their march, proceeding in two divisions and by different roads; his Excellency Chau Phaya Yomerat, with one division, advancing by way of Sisapong, and his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh by way of Muang Yong, Palao, Chiangrai, and Chiangkang, fighting with the Chiangtoong defending forces in all these places as they proceeded. Calculating upon receiving supplies of provisions from the towns they were to pass on their route, and failing to do so, their stock fell short;

the elephants and bullocks that transported the stores of the army failed, too, to come up in time to furnish what was required for the daily rations. Hence the necessity of delaying in each place—sometimes for several days—to wait the coming up of the provisions; and also in making conciliations and arrangements so as to enable the Lao Lu, or people of Chiangtoong, to convey stores and provisions to Muang Luc, within the boundaries of the province of Chiangroong, many days and nights were lost. After entering the province of Chiangtoong, they found the Mhakanan or chief of Chiangtoong, being aware that a Siamese army was coming to march into and attack his country, had compelled the inhabitants to remove their families from all the villages and towns that lay in the route of the invading army, and burn up all the rice and food of every description in them, leaving only the able-bodied men in the towns to defend them. And then, again, the roads proved very difficult. There being very many mountains to climb, and very little level ground, it was impossible for baggage-carts to be used—so the only means of transportation were elephants and bullocks: consequently, but a small quantity or portion of the mortars, howitzers, field-pieces, shot, shell, and powder could be taken along with the army. By the time the army had arrived at Muang Gnuum, Muang Ping, and Muang Samtan, they had fought with, driven back, and put to rout the Chiangtoong troops—so that the van of the Siamese army were enabled to advance quite up to the very walls of Chiangtoong itself by the 26th of April. The main body, however, under his Royal Highness Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh, established themselves at Muang Lek, a village about three miles' distance from the city wall.

The city of Chiangtoong is accessible only by defiles through the mountains that surround it; but at all of these they had built up walls wherever the natural mountain barriers were deficient. An area of about twelve miles in circumference was enclosed by these walls. The town was garrisoned by about three thousand Burmese troops, besides the soldiers of Chiang-

toong itself, who numbered about seven thousand men; Ngiaos people, about six thousand more; making the whole number about sixteen thousand fighting men.

The Chiangtoong men came out from the city frequently to attack the Siamese forces, when the Siamese would open on them a fire of shells from their mortars, by which very many of the enemy would be killed. Upon this, the enemy would retreat within their walls, soon to come out again to resume the contest; and thus an incessant conflict was kept up with the Siamese army for twenty-one days. On the side of the Chiangtoong forces, many hundreds were slain; on the part of the Siamese, about fifty or sixty men.

While the Siamese were designing to carry on the war yet more, the rains set in heavily, and the supplies began to grow short: disease, too, broke out among the soldiers, a dysentery carrying off several hundreds of them. Among the elephants also (of which there were with the army over a thousand) a distemper appeared with the coming on of the rainy season, in consequence of which near about five hundred of them died. The elephants and bullocks that were conveying the provisions and military stores did not arrive in time. Moreover, the division of the army under Chau Phaya Yomerat, which was to have advanced upon Chiangtoong by way of Sisapong in the Muang-rai country, became greatly destitute of provisions, and was unable to get through, as the route they took abounded with difficult mountain-passes, declivities, precipices, &c., so that the troops and elephants were obliged to proceed in single file: and besides, a fatal disease broke out among the people and elephants, of which many died. For these reasons, it became necessary, by the 17th of May, to withdraw the army from the city of Chiangtoong, and fall back to Chiangsan and Chiangrai.

The army could again, in the succeeding year, return to take satisfaction from the people of Chiangtoong; but since both the troops and their horses, elephants and bullocks, were

worn out with fatigue, there is now a necessity to cease awhile from hostilities, in order to give the soldiers an opportunity to rest, also to arrange for and lay in abundant stores for the subsistence of the troops. Perhaps at some future time an army will be marched to chastise these Chiangtoong people, and finish up this affair.

C.

EDICT OF THE LATE KING OF SIAM AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION AND SALE OF OPIUM WITHIN HIS DOMINIONS.

WHEREAS the governor of the sacred treasury, and director in the place of Samuha Phra Kalahom, did receive the sacred royal words, placing them on the tuft of the hair of his head; his Majesty did exercise divine compassion, condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, and commanded, saying:—

From the time he ascended peacefully to eat the kingdom, he established his divine mind to protect the divine and holy religion of Buddha, and protect the land, overruling the sacred and kingly race, both great and small, and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the feet, and the plebeians and merchants. His Majesty will have all seek their living without crime, and will have them universally obtain emolument of property, and live coolly, being happy henceforward agreeably with his divine mind, being determined to extend onward in his own person the race of the gods, he being endowed with very much divine exalted mercy and compassion towards mankind universally, giving himself to exercise the sacred and royal thoughts, perceived that people smoke and eat opium, which is a thorn in the bosom of the divine religion of Buddha, giving the lands to bring forth confusion and distress of various kinds; his Majesty perceived that opium is an evil thing, and contraband in every reign (land), from time immemorial till now. He therefore formerly condescended graciously to the tuft of hair of the head, with grace to the head, and pronounced a divine

word, a commandment, giving it to be distributed and published abroad, not allowing any person whatever to buy and sell opium, prepared or raw, be the same whose it might. It required every item of opium to be brought and delivered over into the sacred treasury, on the left hand of the throne, until it might be conveyed away from time to time, and sold in foreign places. It forbade that opium should be kept in villages, houses, sheds, stalls, boats, or floats, and clandestinely sold among the people. In case of disobedience, it required that, if the transgressor was taken, his opium should be brought, and judgment instituted, fining the owner ten times the value of the opium. The opium thus taken his Majesty graciously granted to have taken away and sold in some foreign place. The price obtained for it, whatever it might be, he granted to be deducted from the amount of the fine inflicted upon the owner of the opium. He gave the Royal servants to form themselves into companies for the clearing away of the opium concerns, and inflict punishment by the fines agreeably with his divine mind, to punish covetous persons who secrete opium, buying and selling it. He would have them to sacrifice their property by the amount of the fines inflicted upon the owner of the opium, that it might operate as a restraint. Accordingly, men who regarded the welfare of the land, who were grateful for the divine favours of the King, the god Buddha who dwells at the head, brought opium and delivered it over, following the law, the divine royal commandment. There were those who were wicked, reprobate, covetous, greedy, in the business of buying and selling opium. These continued clandestinely to buy and sell opium until certain persons caught them, and inflicted fines upon them: of such there were very many in many places. This his Majesty has given to establish companies for catching and inflicting fines very many, for a period of ten years or more; but still smuggling, receiving opium, and bringing it in and selling it, has increased greatly beyond what it was formerly. Persons who smoke and eat opium

have become very abundant and increasing. There is no restraint to it—no forsaking it. Therefore the King, the god Buddha being at the head, does with solicitude exercise his divine mind to silence and cut off opium, that it shall not be allowed to exist in the land. Again; this opium has no seed, no fruit, no stalk or root, within the bounds of the kingdom. This opium all comes from foreign countries. If there were no persons to receive and buy it, and seek to have it come hither, opium would cease to exist here, and those who have become accustomed to smoke and eat it would have none to purchase, and then they would of necessity diminish the quantity they consume, smoking less and less, until some could abstain entirely, and those who are not accustomed to smoke opium would not henceforward become intimate with and be led together by opium-smoking and eating.

Again; now at this present time, there are traders and merchants in the angelic city of the exalted country, owners of junks and smaller craft, that go to trade in foreign countries, and still purchase opium, and come and smuggle it in, buying and selling one with another. Again to instance; traders in foreign places, understanding that merchants in the angelic city of the great exalted country do clandestinely purchase and sell opium, will consequently freight with opium, come and secretly trade in it at the extremities of the kingdom. There are others who receive it, and bear it from one to another coming into the country; consequently, opium remains in the land as much as before, without any cessation. This business of smuggling and clandestinely buying and selling opium is for money altogether. The silver and gold of the land consequently goes out to foreign countries in great quantities. It is therefore indispensable to prohibit this and cause it to cease, by taking as prisoners those concerned, causing it to operate as a restraint without fail. For these reasons, there is issued a divine royal decree, speaking and commanding the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Phra Kalahom, giving him to investigate,

search out, meet, and catch the traders and owners of opium, and those also who receive it, buying and selling on commission, making sure their persons.

When in the fourth month of the year of the Dog, the last year of the cycle of ten, his honour the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha Kalahom, went out to conduct the fleet to sea, he was made acquainted with a matter, saying that certain Chinese fellows, with two-oared boats, had entered and made fast their boats, and were selling opium at the place Sam-muk. He carried the matter up, prostrating himself, and addressed the divine royal compassion, informing him at the dust of the soles of the divine feet.

His Majesty graciously condescended to the tuft of the hair of the head with grace to the head, granting the governor of the martial power Kau, the governor-commissary Sak-da, to muster soldiers, armed with guns, in the province of Samut Parakan,—gave them to go down in war-boats, and go forth following up, until they captured a Chinese oar-boat, and obtained twenty-three chests of opium.

The Chinese fellow of the boats testified saying, that he put into Banlem, and sold eight chests of opium to a certain person of that village. His Majesty therefore graciously gave the sacred and exalted angelic Phra Maha Thep to go out and clear away the concern; they took the Chinese fellows who received the opium purchasing it. By investigation, they were found to be stationed in many places all joined together. His Majesty therefore gave the Royal officers to divide themselves asunder, and go to clear away the companies of opium-traders in the order of all the head countries, on the sea-coast, and in the angelic city of the sacred exalted country, and all the head countries at the south and north. Both Siamese and Chinese merchants, and dealers very many, do still bring opium, and smuggle it in, lay it up, and clandestinely buy and sell it together. Formerly his Majesty graciously gave the Royal servants to establish companies for the clearing away of

the matter, to search out and capture the transgressors with the opium, and bring them to determine and inflict fines upon them. But these officers were only of the lower orders of the Royal servants. They did not make a finish of the work of cleansing away, searching out, and taking the opium. But now the King, the divine Buddha, dwelling at the head, will exercise himself to cleanse away the opium. He therefore condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, speaks commanding, saying, that he now appoints only the sacred most excellent princes, and the less noble ministers of state, among whom is that royal beloved Ronnaret, which honour is a free gift, and the Governor Badin Decha, who bears also the office of Samuha Nayok. The governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha Phra Kalahom, and the superior judges, and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the divine feet—these all being duly sensible of the divine power and divine favour, are united harmoniously to aid in protecting the land.

They will aid each other in protecting the land. They will aid each other in searching out and cleansing away the opium business, and taking the owners of the opium, and the opium, making a complete finish of it without fail. If, in clearing away the concern, they take the persons of those who keep opium, those persons shall be accounted capital criminals, and shall be fined and severely punished, giving it to operate as an effectual restraint upon them, and that all other persons may fear and revere the divine royal absolute power and authority, that henceforward they may not presume to buy and sell opium any more. Opium being all gone, the thorn in the bosom of the land will have been removed entirely, at least in one particular. Nevertheless, his Majesty does exercise a tender affectionate regard toward the farmers of the revenue—the masters of the Royal business, merchants and traders generally, who have taken shelter in the divine beneficence, and have found protection in the land, trading for a

livelihood, and have obtained happiness coming to this time. Perhaps, if they have already got opium in their possession, they will fear to bring it and confess, and, from fear of suffering shame and disgrace, will resolve to conceal it, storing it away with a heart to contemn the law. Such persons cannot escape justice—they must and shall be scoured out and brought to justice, to suffer the divine royal absolute power, and be rewarded with the wasting of their property, the ruin of their persons, and the extinction of their name, without any equivalent.

His Majesty the King, the divine Buddha dwelling at the head, exercising sacred exalted mercy and compassion very much towards the plebeians and all the officers of the land, condescends graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head; he desires to give an opportunity of escape to those who have opium in their possession. Get them to bring their opium, and confess their sins. Their sin shall then be removed away, together with the fine which the law inflicts. It is a Royal free gift, the same as in the year of the Fowl, the ninth year of the cycle of ten (three years ago), when robbers waxing bold, stole elephants, horses, cattle, and buffaloes, plundering, poisoning, and breaking into houses, and taking away goods and chattels; such things were very prevalent. Had a company been set apart to take these robbers, they would certainly have been taken; and they would have been obliged to suffer, some the loss of life, some whipping and imprisonment, according to the law. His Majesty exercised himself, and considered that all these robbers, who were indeed worthy to suffer, some the loss of life, some whipping and imprisonment, according to the law,—his Majesty exercised himself, and considered that all these robbers, who were indeed worthy to suffer punishment in this generation and the generation to come, were the people and the officers of the land: his Majesty did therefore graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, giving a decree to write and publish and sound it abroad to

the people, saying, Whosoever has acted the robber, has been wicked and vile in time past; let him come and confess his sin, revealing the truth to the chief of the company of judges. The companies of robbers, all that knew themselves, feared the divine royal absolute power, and came in great numbers, confessing their sins. His Majesty graciously gave to set the punishment aside as a free gift, and vouchsafed that all the justices and judges should forgive such, and forbade that they should call them to account. Afterwards his Majesty granted a divine and royal gift, a divine and royal commandment and instructions, giving all to know themselves, that they might forsake the wicked works which they formerly committed, saying, If any one shall turn himself about, and following the ancient proverb, saying, "The beginning was crooked, the end shall be straight,"—that man shall certainly obtain happiness in this generation, and the one to come, agreeably with the divine mind, endowed with sacred exalted mercy and compassion, which will assist the people, giving them to obtain peace and happiness henceforward.

Now the same shall be fulfilled in the case of those who have opium, because formerly they practised perversely, and madly transgressed. If they shall know themselves to be sinners and fear transgression, then let them bring their opium, however much or little—let them bring it, and confess their sin before the faces of the governor of curses, the supreme judge, whom his Majesty has graciously given to be the chief of the company set apart to receive the confessions of the guilty. Whosoever shall bring all his opium, and confess all his sins in sincerity and truth, no matter if he shall have bought much or little, his Majesty will graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, granting a divine pardon, a divine free gift, touching his capital sins, and the fine consequent thereupon. These shall not exist in the case of the person who shall confess his sins.

The King, the divine Buddha, who dwells at the head,

begs to prohibit only one thing—viz., the buying and selling of opium. Let no one henceforward trade in it. As to sapan-wood, pepper, rhinoceros' and elephants' teeth, and cardamums, which things were formerly contraband articles of trade, his Majesty now graciously grants that they be made articles of trade in the land, giving to buy and sell of the same as may be desired. They are not at all prohibited. Even rice and salt, which are articles for the sustenance of the divine country—these also his Majesty grants to be diminished for the purposes of trade: agreeably with the divine mind and will, he will have the farmers of the revenue, the masters of the public business, and the merchants and traders, find protection in the sacred most excellent beneficence, and acquire property in great abundance, and become famous, noble, rising, and will have them obtain beautiful countries in the future. As to opium, it is not an article of trade. That it should be made such, buying and selling it one with another, is by no means good. His Majesty therefore exercises himself to prohibit it altogether. He therefore graciously condescending to the tuft of the hair of the head, gives the good, the royal, beloved Ronnaret, and the Governor Badin Decha, filling the station of Samuha Nayok, and the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of Samuha Phra Kala-hom, and the supreme judge, to be the generals of the band, supported by all the Royal officers, both great and small, constituting a company to cleanse away the opium in the angelic city of the great exalted country. His Majesty graciously grants the Governor Phra Gatep ("ruler of angelic forces"), with the Governor Phra Maha Thep ("the divine exalted angel"), to go out and establish companies to investigate and clear away the opium concerns in the countries of Pet Cha Buree, Samut The Song Kram, Sakhon Buree, and Nakon-cha-see. He gives the exalted Governor Amati-yah, Governor Wiqut Kosa, Cha Mun Chaiya-phon, and Cha Mun Julhamat, to go forth and constitute a company for clearing away the opium in Bamplasoi, Chaseungsou, prachin, and

Nakhon Nayok. His Majesty graciously grants a seal (a sealed communication) to go forth to Governor Yommarat (lord of hell), and Governor See Papat, giving them to clear away the opium in the provinces of Song kla, Thelang Phung Thah, Takúa thung, and Takúa pa. His Majesty has already graciously given the Governor of Chai ya to go forth and purify the opium there. If the companies of opium-purifiers in the head provinces shall, in their inquisitions among the Siamese and Chinese, find owners of opium who are leagued with other proprietors in the provinces, then a sealed letter shall go forth, authorizing the Royal officers to take such persons, and bring them in to try and purify them in the angelic city of the great exalted country. If the companies of opium-purifiers in the head provinces shall, while making inquiries, find owners of opium who are in league with others, Siamese or Chinese, in the angelic city of the exalted country, then let the officers give information by letter coming in, and those who are thus in league shall be conveyed, not to be purified in those head provinces. His Majesty will have the Royal servants of the companies of purifiers purify and search out the matter, until they shall meet, reaching to the companies of purifiers in the angelic city of the exalted country, making a finish of purifying only with the taking of all the opium in the country. If there be any persons residing within the suburbs of the angelic city of the exalted country owning opium, however much or little, let them bring all their opium, and confess their sins. Whatever owner of opium will not bring his opium and confess his sin, but secretes the opium, desiring to trade with it, seeking his living in the business of buying and selling opium, not fearing nor dreading the divine royal absolute power, he shall be without favour, and shall have the fruits of wickedness: let him beget destruction and annihilation. His Majesty exercises the divine royal thought, giving to search out and cleanse away, and take the persons of those who have opium, and try them in righteousness strictly; he will then give to

punish, bringing down upon them the divine royal power and authority with tremendous weight. If he be found guilty of death, let his life be taken. Let no persons henceforward take his example to buy and sell opium in the land. His Majesty appoints Phya Chaduck, the royal wealthy governor of the port, and Phya Rong Muong (governor assistant sustainer of the country), and Krom Ma phra Nakhon Ban (god protector of the divine country), to receive this proclamation, write, apply the seal, and distribute to every magistrate of the Siamese and Chinese, giving them to publish, blowing the voice to the people of all classes, and merchants and traders, who are established in villages, wooden houses, brick houses, sheds, stalls, boats, and floats, giving all to understand without fail. Let the Maha Thai (name of public servants), the Kalahom (another great and good), Phra Sata Sa dee, write, informing the Royal servants, both great and little persons, on the side of the soldiers, on the side of occupants of houses, within the divine Royal palace of his Majesty the King, within the sacred Royal palace of the late most excellent Second King, the servants of the lords and of those that are not lords, the lords without and the lords within, every class and every lord: masters shall charge and inform their servants, and people in succession, giving them all to understand together; let there be no exception.

In obedience to the commandment of his Majesty the King.

Written from Thursday, the sixth month, coming to the sixth evening, Chuu-la-sa-ka-rat, 1201, (the year of the May,) the first of the cycle of ten years.*

Singapore Free Press, 13th June, 1839.

D.

TRANSLATION, BY AN AMERICAN LADY, OF A SIAMESE STORY.

"NOW I am about to republish a story. At the time when the vacuum was in existence, and all things were in the most profound silence,—long, long ago, in olden time,—there was a kingdom called the realm of Chambank. The King bore the name of Chambank Rachareteret, and his Queen was the lady Chantahtawee. She was both amiable and dutiful, and a thousand times fair and slender; her countenance was very handsome, her deportment elegant, and she was quite superior to all her maids of honour. Now I would speak in praise of the kingdom. The whole surface was covered with an immense population, who lived extremely contented, and filled with happiness. The symmetry of their bodies adorned the kingdom. They came in crowds to bring stones for the wall of the city. They also built a spire of three stories, and adorned it with the finest sculpture and carving. The pillars were well proportioned, and sustained a splendid dome laid out with lamina: to the sight, it was like branches drooping from a tree. The vault of the dome was very great; upon it were griffins fighting with giants. In front of the pillars was abundant splendour. The plan was laid out in the utmost grandeur. The whole was perfect, surrounded by a moat, which thus constituted it a camp; and there they erected towers like shields, and made loopholes, and everywhere embellished the city walls. About the massive gates were crowds of people observing the glory of the nation. The high towers were elegant, beautiful, fine! Within the walls was a market, where bustling crowds bought and sold. All

was undisturbed universal gaiety and joy, and there they walked in stirring rows.

"Now, my good reader, when the King cherished love towards the lady Chantahtawee, he wished to raise her to the rank of Queen, above all the ladies and all the train of waiting-maids. He observed, therefore, the directions of the sacred books,—showed himself generous, and gave alms to the poor, wretched, and destitute. The King showed himself gracious, and bestowed gifts on all his slaves, female as well as male. He expended and distributed much property,—made all the people cheerful, gave them gifts according to their wishes, and provided food for the future. At the same time, he built a temple destined for the priests, where they should commemorate the passover (?), live piously, and keep their bodies in subjection, and investigate the sacred books. The King also ordered the sacred books to be translated, and to be studied according to the rule of the sacred code, so that the behaviour of the priests might be regulated. Thus he glorified the holy ritual, made it splendid and without spot. The glory and might of the King were exceedingly great; his fame and honour spread even to far-distant kingdoms, whose inhabitants willingly became his slaves.

"Now, my reader, when lady Chantahtawee had lived with the King, she became pregnant. At this time, rice, coriander, peas, and beans were produced in large quantities. Whilst the Queen enjoyed health, she frequently came to behold the nation, till the time of her delivery arrived. She then brought forth a son, beautiful and vigorous as a bow from the moment of his birth. He was the possessor of great riches and honour; a large train of attendant slaves waited upon him without cessation day by day. Now this mighty King wished to show kindness to his best-beloved son, and chose for him both wet-nurses and governors, whose business it was to superintend him day and night. There was also issued the Royal decree, that a hundred waiting-maids, high in authority and of noble extraction, who possessed honour and rank, and beauty and

elegance, finely proportioned, in complexion neither black nor white, but of the lovely yellow of the saffron, should be selected. Their beauty was sparkling, and their countenances glistened with splendid majesty and chastity. They had to sing and dance, and chant to the son of the King with their melodious voices, like the celestial beings who reside in the kingdom of heaven.

"Now, my reader, I must speak about the beauty of this exalted child, because it was of Royal extraction and parentage. When it was born, it was wonderful. There was a wonder: the stars sparkled, shone, and glistened with immense beauty; and in the universe, the angels, gathering in crowds, pronounced a blessing, and strewed flowers, the fragrancy of which penetrated every corner. When the prince was born, there was a Brahmin came from another country. He brought five large elephants, and presented them to the new-born prince, together with golden anklets. The King rejoiced exceedingly, and made presents to him as a remuneration, raised him above all other Brahmins, and made him the ruler of the kingdom. Now, reader, when the child was grown to the age of five years, his Majesty gave him the name of Chow-tu-ah-woo-ke-man. He was at that time well proportioned, of slender hip, and possessed a smiling countenance, with tender features. When he wished to go out, there was prepared for him a golden palanquin beautiful to behold.

"In his superiority he possessed riches and dominions. His look was condescending, surpassing all the kings of other kingdoms: he also held a kingdom which was incomparable. By the merits of this Royal prince, the nation was happy, contented, and cheerful.

"Now, reader, I must break off a while from this story, and I will relate something of another kingdom, called Bunchal. The name of the King was Bunchalret; the name of the Queen was Nutuntaktari. She was fair, tender, and slender; she had many daughters, who accompanied her

and superintended the slaves. The King had a very amiable disposition towards his ladies; and because they were pleasing, he founded a city according to the pattern of the ancients—planted it with many trees, built it with stones, and whitewashed it with lime. He built a market with a channel, where all the people assembled in crowds: there, seated in rows, they bought and sold as much as was sufficient for their necessities. The people were happy, cheerful, and suffered no oppression. The King also built a dome. Everything in the kingdom was elegant and splendid. The nation gathered round, cheerful, happy, and without cares; and the nobility followed the pattern of the ancients. The King also took care that there was no want of justice; so he was celebrated, and possessed great honour; his name was famous in the whole universe, and his glory and majesty were unspotted. When the King was thus happily seated, his Queen again became pregnant, and great wonders appeared; the earth shook, thunders rolled, lightnings flashed in variegated colours, and the people came together to praise the merits of the King. Then the Queen brought forth a daughter—beautiful, without spot, and very dutiful; her smiling face resembled the moon when she is in her fulness. The whole nation brought presents of gold and silver, offering them to the new-born daughter. The King sought for five hundred virgins to wait on the young princess; they were pure, chaste, and unspotted; while the nation rejoiced, and was perfectly happy. When the princess had attained her fifth year, her beauty was perfect. His Majesty appointed governesses to watch over her with the utmost care: these ladies were famous in other kingdoms. Everybody, nobles as well as the common people, came to admire the Royal child; they thronged in immense numbers, and the voice of their praise shook the earth.

"I shall now discontinue this relation, and speak again about the former King, Chambank Rachareteret. While this monarch was enjoying perfect ease, there came hunters from a far kingdom. They announced that in their excursions

they had seen the immense beauty of this princess, and now came to acquaint his Majesty of it. The King was greatly delighted, consulted with his consort, and commanded that another sight of her might be taken. They then went back, and arriving in the garden by stealth, they hid themselves in the bushes, and laid themselves in the pleasant shade, when, accompanied by an immense train of maidens, the princess entered. Elephants, horses, and chariots with soldiers followed. When all the attendants had arrived, they surrounded the Royal child on all sides, and coming to the brink of a stream of water, they put down the palanquin which they bore on their shoulders. The governesses then, anointing the Royal child, undressed her; after which the glorious princess descended into the sparkling, glistening water. Now the whole company began to play, dandle and caress each other, full of joy and cheerfulness. The Royal princess dived and swam, leaving the maidens far behind, and hid herself under the shadow of the trees. The hunters, beholding the Royal daughter, stood astounded, looking at her elegant beauty and accomplishments. They addressed her, saying—'O wonderful nymph, from the time of our first existence we have never beheld a countenance like thine, so beautiful, so fair! There is no female like thee! Thou art to be compared to celestial beings and angels who dwell in paradise:—but comparison is vain.' Fainting with astonishment, the hunters resolved to give a full account to the King Chambank Rachareteret, that the prince might become her partner. Who was so worthy as the son of so great a lord? While they were thinking thus, they lingered and looked in deep silence, that they might see plainly and be certain. At the same time, the governesses were following the Royal daughter, who had swum far away, to snatch her from the danger. While they were thinking they were scattered, some swam, dived, and rose to rejoin her. The eyes of some were shut, and they could not see; others passed her; others cried, 'Catch the princess!' But nothing was heard of her. Finally, when they

reached her, the princess, praising their zeal, said, 'Maidens, do not hurry, nor complain that you do not see me: wait a little, and I shall return.' And so she dived, came up, and dived again; grasped the hand of the governesses and maid-servants, who had been shocked at her going so far, and had exerted their utmost to induce her to return. She was very dexterous in the water, and superior to all of them, to the great astonishment of the maidens, who remained speechless.

"When the afternoon was come, the attendants prepared to return to the palace. Some soldiers were chosen to pluck flowers of different kinds for the princess, which she was to present to her illustrious parents, to whom she had to pay her respects. When they arrived at the palace gate, the parents heard of it; and his Majesty went down to receive his Royal daughter, who had been perfumed by the flowers. He stroked and caressed the child, saying, 'Dearly-beloved daughter of your father, what have you brought to present him?' The child replied, 'Nothing but a few flowers, among which is the lotus: these I come to present to my father.' Whilst fragrance perfumed the whole, the King commanded, saying, 'May good health and strength be given you, and no sickness or weakness ever trouble you.' 'Maid-servants, be of good cheer!' All understood the meaning, and they began to sing harmoniously, and enjoyed the bliss, and, till late at night, made the earth shake with their exultations. During the time of the tranquil night, they praised the merits of the illustrious King, till, exhausted and wearied, like a man who is carrying a thousand pounds and puts them down from off his shoulder unable to speak, they looked around, and saw the princess among them, fair and shining as a nymph, endeavouring to gain merit and applause by being among them. Then the King, beginning to slumber, commanded the princess to lie down on the couch to sleep and wander in dreams. The princess walked into her chamber, and stretched herself on the couch, after fastening the door. In her dream, she being astonished, called for the help of her governesses, saying,

'My ladies, assist your younger sister, whose whole body is shackled!' The women, greatly surprised, rose and came. The princess related the dream which she had seen,—that a prince had entered the room and begged her to become his spouse. The women answered and said, 'The dream at which your highness was so astonished is very lucky.' The princess replied, 'Tell me about the matter; do not fear—hide nothing—I shall not be angry.' The women said, 'We will tell you. Did not your highness see a serpent winding itself around your body? Now, this signifies a king, who has received an account of you, and comes to petition an alliance of love: do not tarry to accede.' The little princess replied, 'Is this the good fortune you tell me of? Do not talk so to your young sister.' And the women were silent." * * *

E.

HISTORY OF CONSTANCE PHAULCON.

SAD was the fate of the King of Siam, and of Constantine Falcon (or Phaulcon), his minister, whose names occur so prominently in the History of the Great Mission of Louis XIV. to the Siamese Court: but as there are few histories more remarkable than that of the Cephalonian adventurer, and as the accounts hitherto published in English are imperfect, and in some respects unfaithful, I shall give a translation from the *Histoire de M. Constance, par le Père d'Orléans,* a Jesuit, which was printed at Tours in 1690.

Constantine Falcon, so well known under the name of M. Constance, was of Venetian origin, but born in Greece, his father being the son of a governor of Cephalonia, his mother a native of that island, and of an ancient and honourable family. His parents were unfortunate or unskilful, and their nobility weighed heavily upon their poverty.

M. Constance was scarcely ten years old when he became aware of his unfortunate condition, and felt it keenly. He did not, however, lose time in lamentations, but, with a courage above his years, he formed the resolution of endeavouring to raise himself; and, that no time might be lost, he determined to leave his native land, where he foresaw that he should meet with many obstacles to his advancement. As commerce attracts to Cephalonia many English merchants, the young Constance joined a captain of that nation, and accompanied him to England. A short time after, he embarked for the Indies in one of the vessels of the East India Company, in whose service he engaged.

He arrived in Siam, and after several years' service, weary

of continuing a subaltern, he purchased a ship, and, full of the courage which never forsook him, he put to sea in order to trade with the neighbouring kingdoms.

Two shipwrecks rapidly following one another, at the mouth of the Siam river, would have discouraged any other person, and a third, upon the coast of Malabar, would have made him despair, had he been of a less steadfast and determined spirit. He had nearly lost his life, and of all his possessions only two thousand crowns remained to him.

Cast upon shore with this wreck of his fortune, he found himself so much fatigued that he laid himself down to sleep. He has often related that at this moment he saw (whether in a dream he cannot tell, since he has never felt sure whether he was waking or sleeping) a person of a remarkable countenance and majestic air, who, smiling upon him, desired him to return whence he came. These words which he heard, or supposed himself to have heard, long dwelt upon his mind; and as he had lain down at the approach of night, he passed the whole of it in reflecting upon what had just happened.

Continuing his reveries in the morning, he walked up and down by the water's edge. He perceived in the distance a man rapidly approaching him. He had no difficulty in discovering that it was a traveller who, like himself, had escaped from shipwreck; his pale countenance and dripping garments sufficiently testified to the fact. The resemblance of their several fates made each impatient to approach, and to become acquainted with the other. The difference of language might have proved an obstacle; but at the first words of the stranger, M. Constance recognised the Siamese tongue, in which he immediately replied. Thus they found in their misfortune the consolation of being able to speak of it, and at length another consequence ensued.

The unknown was an ambassador whom the King of Siam had sent to Persia, and who on the way homeward had been shipwrecked in the same place as M. Constance. If the

latter had been one of those who find consolation for their own troubles in those of another, he might have been comforted in seeing a man worse off than himself, the ambassador having saved only his own life, of all that he had on board his ship; and among the sentiments of pity inspired by so melancholy a condition, M. Constance had the pleasure, even in his own misfortunes, of assisting an unhappy man. He did not wait to be asked to do what he could, but immediately offered to take him back to Siam; and this offer being accepted by the ambassador, he expended the two thousand crowns which were left him in the purchase of a barque, provisions, and raiment for himself and his companion.

Now that they had no longer anything to lose, their navigation was prosperous: they reached Juthia without any unlucky *contretemps*, and had there the pleasure of relating their adventures—the ambassador to his relations, and M. Constance to his friends.

The Siamese was not ungrateful for the assistance he had received from the Greek. He had no sooner rendered an account of his negotiations to the *Barcalon* (prime minister), than he mentioned his benefactor, and spoke in detail of the obligations he owed him. He praised him so warmly, that this minister, who was himself an intelligent man, and admired what was good in others, was desirous of making his acquaintance, and at the first interview was so much delighted with him that he determined to make use of him. After a time, having seen much of his skill in business, and of his great probity, he felt it was desirable that the King should have such a man about him.

The late King of Siam was, by the admission of all who travelled in the Indies, one of the most enlightened princes of the East, who quickly penetrated into character, and had the greatest regard for intelligence. His prime minister, for whom he had much respect, had spoken so highly of M. Constance as to give a very favourable impression of him; but

having more than once occasion to prove his real value and capability, the esteem in which he already held him was greatly increased.

It is said that M. Constance was first taken into favour from the address with which he supplanted the Moors in the employment which seemed to have been made over to them of preparing such things as were necessary for the magnificent entertainment of embassies, on which the King greatly piqued himself. The enormous sums drawn from the treasury by these infidels having astonished the Sovereign, M. Constance undertook the office, and succeeded in arranging everything in much more splendid style, at far less expense. It is reported that the Moors having presented a memorial setting forth that the King owed them a large sum of money for advances they had made, M. Constance, who examined their accounts, made it evident that, on the contrary, they owed his Majesty more than sixty thousand crowns, as they were themselves obliged to acknowledge. The King of Siam economized, that he might spend on fit occcasions; and he was so well pleased with the judicious saving of M. Constance, as to make use of his services in other and more difficult affairs.

His credit became so great, that the highest mandarins paid court to him; but his prosperity was interrupted by severe illness, which had nearly carried him off. For a time this was concealed from the King, probably to avoid distressing him; but he expressed great regret at this instance of discretion, and gave his physicians so strict an order to do everything in their power for the recovery of their patient, that he was soon out of danger.

M. Constance was born of Catholic parents; but the education he had received among the English during ten years of his life had insensibly caused him to embrace the Anglican faith, in which he had continued up to this time. The captain of the English Factory having perceived in him a leaning towards the faith of his fathers, omitted nothing to

retain him in error. Happily for him, Father Antoine Thomas, a Flemish Jesuit, passing through Siam to join the Portuguese Missions in Japan or China, held several conversations with him, in which, the discourse being adroitly led to controversial points, M. Constance took so much pleasure, that he himself invited the Father to see him often, that they might have further conference together. The earliest discussions were on the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, of which two or three conversations easily convinced a man who was in good faith striving to discover the truth.

However much M. Constance was occupied with the King and the prime minister, he did not fail while at Court to find time to converse with his doctor upon religious subjects. They spoke of the Pope, of the head of the Anglican Church, and of the origin of the last-mentioned power, the abuses of which were so clearly demonstrated to him by the Father, that he was shortly persuaded of them.

It was just at this time he fell sick; and he had not so entirely determined what part to take, but that he might have hesitated for some time to declare himself, had not his determination been hastened by the fear of dying out of the pale of the Church. Being at length resolved, he desired the Father to come during the night; and after having narrated to him the cause of his fall into heresy, he discovered to him the present condition of his heart and mind. As it was not very pressing, though the illness appeared dangerous, nothing was concluded upon that day; but on the morrow, when there was a sensible improvement, the sick man said to the Father that he desired to return to the Church, entreating him to be his guide and director in this important matter, and assuring him that he should find the most perfect submission to all that he should direct.

As the peril diminished, the Father would not press his penitent to abjure his errors, but took care to converse with him frequently during his illness, encouraging his good inten-

tions, waiting his entire restoration to perform what was needful.

Father Thomas, wishing to proceed cautiously in an affair of so much importance, and render his work secure, engaged M. Constance to seek a retreat, in which he read and meditated at leisure on the exercises of St. Ignatius. He instructed him also during that time to make a general confession, and made him promise to marry, and to take a Catholic wife, as soon as he had abjured his errors, believing it to be a principal means for the solid conversion of a man who had lived in the disorders common to those of his age who are not penetrated with the fear of God's judgments.

Things being thus disposed, M. Constance made his abjuration on the 2nd of May, 1682, in the church of the Portuguese Jesuits, established at Siam in their own quarter. He experienced unspeakable consolation during the ceremony, thinking that he had now returned to the bosom of the Church after so long straying from her fold. His gratitude was indeed so lively, that he told those who assisted at the rite, as he embraced them, that since God had shown him this favour, which he had so little deserved, he would thenceforth endeavour to serve the cause of religion in the kingdom of Siam, and to procure for others the happiness he now enjoyed. Some days after, he received the communion; and his fervour still increasing, he addressed the Father in these words: "I protest before our Lord Jesus Christ, whose presence I here acknowledge, that from henceforth I will devote all my endeavours to the reparation of having passed my life in error, and to the extension of the Catholic Church. I pray Him who has inspired the intention to give me grace to perform it."

A few days after, he married a young Japanese lady of good family, distinguished not only by rank, but also by the blood of the martyrs, from whom she was descended, and whose virtues she imitates. He ever lived with his noble partner in

such peace and harmony as might be a model to all who are united by the sacrament of marriage. The King and all his nobles offered him congratulations and handsome presents, and the Catholics testified great pleasure on the occasion.

The course of M. Constance's prosperity was so rapid, that the *Barcalon* dying, the King wished to bestow upon him the vacant office, which is the highest in the State. He, however, prudently excused himself, fearing, in the dawn of his prosperity, to excite the jealousy of the mandarins: but though refusing the position, he fulfilled nearly all the duties connected with it; for every affair of importance was referred to him, and the King had such entire confidence in him that he was the channel of all the requests of the people and of all the favours of the Sovereign.

If, as a man of talent, he knew how to avail himself of the Royal favour to establish his own fortune, he used it no less faithfully for the glory of his master and the good of the State; still more, as a true Christian, for the advancement of religion. Up to this time he had aimed chiefly to increase commerce, which occupies the attention of Oriental sovereigns far more than politics, and had succeeded so well that the King of Siam was now one of the richest monarchs of Asia: but he considered that, having enriched, he should now endeavour to render his Sovereign illustrious, by making known to foreign nations the noble qualities which distinguished him; and his chief aim being the establishment of Christianity in Siam, he resolved to engage his master to form treaties of friendship with those European monarchs who were most capable of advancing this object.

The name of our great King, the reputation of his wisdom and of his conquests, had reached even these distant shores; and M. Constance, who was better informed on the subject than those about him, thought he might best promote the glory of his master by obtaining for him the friendship of so renowned a monarch; and being well aware of what was

passing in Europe, he reasonably supposed that of all the sovereigns of Christendom, one only was able and willing to undertake much for the cause of Christianity.

The King of Siam, to whom he communicated his views, approved and entered into them with pleasure, not only for the sake of his own glory, but also (which was wonderful in a pagan monarch) with a zeal inspired by his minister for the establishment of the Gospel in his kingdom. This made some believe that he was not far from the kingdom of God; but experience has shown that they were mistaken.

The advances made by this monarch to form an alliance with the King of France induced his Majesty to send to Siam, as ambassador, the Chevalier de Chaumont, in the course of the year 1685.

It was on this occasion that M. Constance, hoping more than ever to be able, under the protection and with the assistance of the most powerful monarch in Christendom, to introduce among the Siamese the religion of Christ, which had been long freely exercised by other nations in the kingdom, showed the fervour of his zeal for so holy an enterprise. The words he addressed to his master to second those which the ambassador of France conveyed to him from his own sovereign to engage him to seek instruction, are a testimony so much the more incontestable, since the infidel monarch never having shown any decided evidence of an inclination to embrace the Christian faith, it was a delicate step for his minister thus to join a foreign sovereign in opening the subject; and of this M. Constance was well aware. The address he made to the King upon this occasion, which is to be found at length in the account of Father Tachard's first voyage, shows at once how little he regarded his own interests, and that he thought more of his duty as a Christian than of his position as minister to the King of Siam. The reply of this monarch shows that he had no idea of becoming a convert; but it was sufficiently moderate not to take away all hope of his conversion, as, however little inclination he had to embrace

the faith, he showed no small desire for its establishment in his kingdom, thinking it might be advantageous to his people. M. Constance desired to profit by dispositions so favourable for the accomplishment of this great work, and took to insure success all the measures which an enlightened and far-seeing mind could take in the present juncture.

He had long thought of bringing to Siam Jesuits who, like those in China, might introduce the Gospel at Court through the mathematical sciences, especially astronomy. Six Jesuits having profited by so good an occasion as that of the embassy of the Chevalier de Chaumont to come to Siam, whence they were to proceed to China, M. Constance had no sooner seen them than he resolved to beg that some might be sent to him from France; and it was for this especial object that Father Tachard, one of the six who had accompanied M. de Chaumont, and in whom M. Constance had especial confidence, was requested to return to Europe.

While the enlightened zeal of M. Constance caused him to take these measures for establishing religion in Siam, his policy, no less wise, led him to devise others for adding to the glory and security of the King, his master. This distinguished minister was well aware that the Sovereign could not favour the Christian religion without drawing upon himself and his family two classes of dangerous enemies—the *talapoins*, with those of the Siamese who were zealous for their pagodas, or who wished to appear so, and the Mahomedans, who hoped to induce the King to embrace the Koran, which an ambassador from Persia had just brought over to Siam.

It was to propose to the King of France the plan which he had conceived, that M. Constance arranged the embassy of the three mandarins who arrived in France with M. de Chaumont in 1686. The approbation shown by his Majesty of the project of his minister, and all that he did to facilitate its execution, show how well he thought of it. The principal article of the treaty was, that the King should send over some French troops to the King of Siam, not only to instruct

his own, in our discipline, but also to be at his disposal according as he should need them for the security of his person, or for that of his kingdom. In the mean time, the King of Siam would appoint the French soldiers to guard two places, where they would be commanded by their own officers, under the authority of this monarch.

After the treaty was ratified, the troops assembled and the twelve missionaries chosen, everything being in readiness for the return of the ambassadors of the King of Siam, they set out on the expedition of 1686; an account of which Father Tachard has given to the public, with remarks as full and as interesting as those which accompanied his report of the first voyage.

The Mahomedans had long flattered themselves with the hope of inducing the King and people of Siam to accept the Koran; but when they saw the monarch thus closely allying himself with Christians, their fears were excited; and the great difference which had been made between the French and Persian ambassadors in the honours shown them in their audiences with his Majesty had so much increased the apprehensions of the infidels, that they resolved to avert the apprehended misfortune by attempting the life of the King. The authors of this evil design were two princes of Champa and a prince of Macassar, all of them refugees in Siam, where the King had offered them an asylum against some powerful enemies of their own countries. A Malay captain encouraged them by prophecies which he circulated among the zealots of his own sect, of whom he shortly assembled a sufficient number to carry out the conspiracy, had it not been discovered; which, however, it was, through the princes of Champa, who having a brother in the service of the King, and at that moment with the Court at Louvô, forwarded to him a letter of warning, but so *mal-à-propos*, and in so strange a manner, that, suspecting something wrong, though he knew not what, he carried the letter to M. Constance without breaking the seal.

The activity of the minister carried him to Juthia as soon

as he had perused the letter and received orders from the King, his master. On arriving, he discovered that the governor, who had received notice of the conspiracy from one of the accomplices, had taken such good precautions, that the conspirators, who had already assembled, finding their plot discovered, had retired to their own dwellings. M. Constance profited by their consternation to publish an amnesty in favour of those who confessed their crime and asked forgiveness. All did so, except the prince of Macassar and those of his nation, who having obstinately refused to implore the King's clemency, at length experienced his justice.

The Macassars are the bravest and most determined warriors of the East. When they are closely pressed, they swallow opium, which produces a species of intoxication, or rather fury, in which they forget danger and fight desperately.

M. Constance took measures for attacking cautiously men from whom he expected so much resistance; but he exposed his own person on this occasion with the resolution of a gallant man, pressing upon the furious troop at the head of a few brave soldiers, and always turning where the danger was greatest, so that five or six of his own people were killed beside him. The Macassar prince, who sought his life, having perceived him, prepared to throw his dart; but the minister having placed himself in a position to ward off the blow, the prince directed his javelin against an English captain. The captain dodged; but the prince was not so fortunate as to escape a musket-ball aimed at him by a Frenchman, which killed him on the spot. This terminated the combat, in which the victory gained by the minister rendered the King, his master, more absolute over his own people, and more than ever formidable to his enemies.

The whole kingdom was yet ringing with the praises which this vigorous action drew upon M. Constance, when the French vessels arrived. MM. de La Loubère and Ceberet, envoys extraordinary of the King for the execution of the treaty, had a contest with the Court of Siam upon the ceremonial to be

observed, which, in the first instance, caused a difference between them and M. Constance, and afterwards brought about some bitter disputes on other subjects. In essentials the service did not suffer, M. Constance steadily pursuing his aim, which was the alliance of the two Kings for the establishment of religion. The French troops were directed to guard Bangkok and Merguy, the two posts in the whole kingdom most advantageous for the interests of commerce.

M. Constance had already so high an esteem and so tender a regard for our great King, and the King of Siam, his master, had entered so entirely into his sentiments, that this Sovereign, thinking the French troops were not sufficiently near his person, determined to ask from the King, in addition to the troops already landed, a company of two hundred body-guards. As there was much to arrange between the two monarchs for the establishment of religion, not only in Siam, but in many other places where M. Constance hoped to spread it, they resolved that Father Tachard should return to France, accompanied by three mandarins, to present to his Majesty the letter from their King; and that he should thence proceed to Rome, to solicit from the Pope assistance in preserving tranquillity and spreading Christianity in the Indies.

Father Tachard having received from the King and his minister the necessary orders, left his companions under the direction of M. Constance, and quitted Siam, accompanied by the envoys extraordinary of the King, at the beginning of the year 1686. He reached Brest in the month of July in the same year.

Never was negotiation more successful. Occupied as was the King in waging war with the greater part of Europe, leagued against him by the Protestant party, he made no delay in equipping vessels to convey to the King of Siam the guards which he had requested.

In the mean time, a mandarin named Pitraxa thought that, as the King had only a daughter, he himself might, without much difficulty, usurp the throne. He was a false

devotee of his religion, and, after having retired among the *talapoins*, had allowed himself to be recalled to Court, where, under an appearance of moderation, he nourished great ambition.

The pretext of religion and public liberty—so frequently seized by the seditious man—was not wanting to him. He found *talapoins* zealous for the maintenance of their pagodas, and mandarins who had taken umbrage at the establishment of the French in Siam; and as he had made himself very popular, he engaged numbers to join in his revolt.

M. Constance was a great obstacle to his designs, and he resolved to make him his first victim. While all this was plotting, M. Constance was well aware of the evil intentions of his enemies; but he had little apprehension on his own account, being persuaded that the French, though but few in number, were able to keep in order the whole Siamese nation. He therefore continued his course, taking measures to secure the success of his enterprise. On the one side, he gave orders that M. Bruant should be furnished with ammunition to fortify Merguy; on the other, he procured for M. Volant all that was necessary to defend the fortress of Bangkok.

In February, 1688, all appeared tranquil, when the King, who was worn and infirm, fell sick. M. Constance, who had an eye to everything, perceived, about the month of March, some tumults among the nobles, and soon learned that Pitraxa had placed himself at the head of a faction. The Governor of Juthia was the first who warned him that this mandarin, abusing his opportunities of entering the palace, had made use of the seals or impressions obtained from them to demand arms and powder, under the pretence of needing them for the defence of the Sovereign. The Governor of Piply having given a similar account, M. Constance wisely judged that, to stop the mischief, he must go to the very source; and having made up his mind upon the subject, he determined to order the arrest of Pitraxa, and put him on his trial.

To exercise this design, the minister saw that he must have

the assistance of the French arms, and begged M. Desfarges, who was then at Bangkok, to come to Louvô, as he wished to communicate to him an affair of importance respecting the service of the two Kings. M. Desfarges exhibited great zeal in responding to this request, and joined him without delay.

Upon his arrival, M. Constance sent to him two confidential persons, who informed him of the secret intrigues of Pitraxa against the King, the Royal Family, the French nation, and the Christian religion, representing to him the importance of being beforehand with the conspirators and dispersing them, having first startled them by a bold stroke, which, depriving them of their chief, must trouble their counsels and disconcert their measures. M. Desfarges greatly applauded this suggestion, and rejoiced at having found an opportunity of signalizing his zeal by so glorious an action. After this very satisfactory preliminary, M. Constance and he had no difficulty in agreeing upon the measures to be taken for the execution of their plan. They had a long conference, in which M. Desfarges engaged to come to Louvô with a part of his garrison, and to second the resolution of the minister as much as possible.

These measures being agreed upon, he took the road to Bangkok; and immediately upon his arrival, having picked out fourscore of his bravest men and some of his best officers, he set out for Louvô, where the Court was held. But, unhappily for M. Constance, the general, in passing Juthia, found there persons who prevented him from pursuing his undertaking, assuring him that the King was dead, the minister deposed, and Pitraxa master of everything. Upon this representation, M. Desfarges returned to Bangkok, and was so entirely persuaded he ought to remain there, that everything which could afterwards be urged to induce him to take up the affair was useless and ineffectual. He sent excuses to M. Constance, begging him to consider that while the death of the King of Siam was reported, he could not prudently withdraw his troops from their post to engage them elsewhere.

At the same time, he offered him a retreat for himself and his family among the French at Bangkok.

In the extremity to which the minister was reduced, the storm being about to break over his head, it was the only choice left, had he regarded himself alone. But, besides that he preferred the interests of religion to his own security, this noble-hearted man felt it would be ungrateful to abandon the King, his master, to the mercy of his enemies in a state of health which rendered him unable to protect himself, and would have regarded it as a stain upon his reputation that it should be said he had given offices to the French less from a true zeal for religion, than from the foresight of a politician who wished to secure himself a refuge should fortune prove unfavourable. These considerations prevented his accepting M. Desfarges' offer, and he resolved to perish rather than withdraw from Court.

Nevertheless, that nothing might be omitted which could assist in dispersing the storm, he proposed that the King should nominate a successor to the throne, and suggested that one of his Majesty's brothers should be the person; but the King, who hated them both, would never consent, and named his daughter as queen and heir-apparent. A few days after, the King having heard of Pitraxa's conspiracy, sent to arrest him; but the latter, being advised of his intentions, assembled the rest of the conspirators during the night, and the next morning, May 18th, he made himself master of the palace and of the King's person.

It was then that M. Constance showed his sincere zeal and affectionate regard for his master. He had been warned of what had occurred, and advised to remain quiet at least till the first fury of the conspirators was over; but he rejected the advice as unworthy of his courage and injurious to his fidelity.

Having with him a few Frenchmen, two Portuguese, and sixteen English soldiers, he called them together, and, with his

confessor, entered his chapel, that he might prepare for the death which appeared to await him; whence passing into his wife's chamber, he bade her farewell, saying that the King was a prisoner, and that he would die at his feet.' He then went out to go direct to the palace, flattering himself that, with the small number of Europeans who followed him, he should be able to make his way through the Indians who endeavoured to arrest him, so as to reach the King. He would have succeeded, had his followers been as determined as himself; but on entering the first court of the palace, he was suddenly surrounded by a troop of Siamese soldiers. He was putting himself in a defensive attitude, when he perceived that he was abandoned by all his suite except the French, so that the contest was too unequal to be long maintained. He was obliged to yield to the force of numbers; and he and the Frenchmen with him were made prisoners, and loaded with irons.

Pitraxa having secured the persons of the monarch and his minister, declared himself Regent by the authority of the captive King, to whom he left the shadow of royalty, that his own usurpation might appear less odious. The whole Court quickly recognised his authority, and though taking only the title of High Mandarin, he acted as King, few persons venturing to resist him. The governor of the capital, however, surrendered only in extremity. There were many contests respecting a brother of the King who remained at Juthia, and was there detained in the palace. Pitraxa, who always went direct to his objects, thought it good policy at once to keep this prince in his own power, and to rescue him from the hands of a man who was likely to use him to thwart his designs. With this view, he resolved to transfer him to Louvô, employing for the purpose the name and authority of the King. The orders which he sent to the Governor of Juthia were not received with the required docility; for this officer, being well aware that the King acted only under compulsion, resolved not to execute them,—a resistance which

Pitraxa deeply resented, though he had sufficient art to disguise his feelings, and finding that he was not yet in a condition to use force, he employed a happy artifice. As it was not generally known which of the mandarins were friendly to him, he instructed some of them to feign dissatisfaction with his conduct, and with the changes he had introduced into the Government, while, under pretext of paying court to the King's brother, and offering him their services to preserve the crown to the Royal Family, they went to the palace of Juthia to corrupt the guards of the prince. They succeeded so well, that these faithless guards, evading the vigilance of the governor, themselves carried off their master, and having conveyed him from the palace by a private passage, delivered him over to a troop of soldiers, who transported him to Louvô, thus rendering Pitraxa master of the whole of the Royal Family.

Soon everything gave way to the authority of a powerful and fortunate usurper, and most men willingly submitted to the new yoke;—the talapoins regarding Pitraxa as the restorer of their religion; the mandarins, as a man faithful to the country which he freed from foreigners; and the mass of the people being pleased with novelty.

The French were now the only persons whom Pitraxa considered an obstacle to his greatness, as long as they preserved to the lawful sovereign the two most considerable places in the country. To free himself from this source of anxiety, he again had recourse to fraud; desiring the bishops of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Siam to meet him at Louvô, assuring them that the change of affairs did not affect the Christians, and still less the French. The Abbé de Lionne, bishop of Rosalie, repaired thither, the Bishop of Metellopolis excusing himself on the ground of indisposition.

When the prelate reached Louvô, the grand mandarin sent word that he wished to send him to Bangkok, to bring to court M. Desfarges, with whom, he said, he wished to confer on the part of the King on an affair of great importance;

adding, that the general could not delay his journey without doing serious injury to the union between the two nations, and giving birth to great suspicion.

M. de Rosalie having undertaken this commission, found in M. Desfarges much greater docility than he had shown to the friends of M. Constance. Upon this, six French officers who were at Court, finding their safety endangered, resolved to leave and retire to Bangkok. They armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and under pretence of a ride, easily escaped from the guard Pitraxa had appointed to accompany them. It is true that, for the one they had got rid of, they found between Louvô and the river troops at different intervals, which, however, they easily passed. On reaching the river, they discovered a boat filled with talapoins, which they seized, driving away its occupants. As, however, they did not take the precaution of tying down the rowers, they had the vexation of having them escape under cover of the night, each swimming away from his own side of the boat. Compelled to row it themselves, they soon became so weary that they determined to land, and continue their journey on foot. This was not without its difficulties, as the people, warned by the talapoins whose boat had been seized, and by the fugitive rowers, assembled in troops upon the river-side, uttering loud cries. Notwithstanding this, they leaped out, and gained the plains of Juthia, where, most unfortunately, they lost their way. The populace still followed them, and though not venturing to approach very near, never lost sight of them, and continued to annoy them as much as possible. They might, after all, have escaped, had not hunger compelled them to enter into a parley for a supply of provisions. In answer, they were told that they would not be listened to until they had laid down their arms. Then these cowardly wretches, instead of furnishing them with provisions, threw themselves upon them, stripped them, and carried them bound to Juthia, whence they were sent back to Louvô most unworthily treated. A troop of three hundred Mahomedans, which

Pitraxa on learning their flight sent in pursuit of them, and which met them on their return, treated them so brutally, that one named Brecy died from the blows they inflicted. The rest were committed to prison on their arrival at Louvô.

From this persecution of the French fugitives, the infidels insensibly passed to persecuting all the Christians in Siam, as soon as they learned that M. Desfarges was on the road to join Pitraxa; for, from that time the tyrant, giving way to the suspicions infused by crime and ambition, no longer preserved an appearance of moderation towards those he hated. His detestation of the Christians had been for some time kept within bounds by the esteem he still felt for the French; but he had no sooner heard of the deference shown by their general to the orders he had sent him, than, beginning to fear nothing, he spared none.

As the prison of M. Constance was in the interior of the palace, no one knows the details of his sufferings. Some say that, to make him confess the crimes of which he was accused, they burned the soles of his feet; others, that an iron hoop was bound round his temples. It is certain that he was kept in a prison made of stakes, loaded with three heavy chains, and wanting even the necessaries of life, till Madame Constance, having discovered the place of his imprisonment, obtained permission to furnish him with them.

She could not long continue to do so, being soon herself in want. The usurper had at first appeared to respect her virtue, and had shown her some degree of favour: he had restored her son, who had been taken from her by soldiers, and exculpated himself from the robbery. But these courtesies were soon discontinued. The virtues of Madame Constance had for a time softened the ferocity of the tyrant; but the report of her wealth, which he supposed to be enormous, excited his cupidity, which could not in any way be appeased. In the 30th of May, the official seals of her husband were led from her; the next day, his arms, his papers, and

his clothes were carried off: another day, boxes were sealed, and the keys taken away; a guard was placed before her dwelling, and a sentinel at the door of her room to keep her in sight. Hitherto nothing had shaken her equanimity; but this last insult so confounded her, that she could not help complaining. "What," exclaimed she, weeping, "what have I done to be treated like a criminal?" This, however, was the only complaint drawn by adversity from this noble Christian lady during the whole course of her trials. Even this emotion of weakness, so pardonable in a woman of two-and-twenty who had hitherto known nothing of misfortune, was quickly repaired; for two Jesuits who happened to be with her on this occasion, having mildly represented to her that Christians who have their treasure in heaven, and who regard it as their country, should not afflict themselves like Pagans for the loss of wealth and freedom—"It is true," said she, recovering her tranquillity; "I was wrong, my Fathers. God gave all; He takes all away: may His holy name be praised! I pray only for my husband's deliverance."

Scarcely two days had elapsed after the placing of the seals, when a mandarin, followed by a hundred men, came to break them by order of his new master, and carried off all the money, furniture, and jewels he found in the apartments of this splendid palace. Madame Constance had the firmness herself to conduct him, and to put into his hands all that he wished to take; after which, looking at the Fathers, who still continued with her, "Now," said she, calmly, "God alone remains to us; but none can separate us from Him."

The mandarin having retired with his booty, it was supposed she was rid of him, and that nothing more could be demanded from those who had been plundered of all their possessions. The two Jesuits had left to return to their own dwelling, imagining there could be nothing to fear for one who had been stripped of her property, and who, having committed no crime, seemed shielded from every other risk. In the evening it appeared that they were mistak [illegible]

six o'clock, the same mandarin, accompanied by his satellites, came to demand her hidden treasures. "I have nothing hidden," she answered: "if you doubt my word, you can look; you are the master here, and everything is open." So temperate a reply appeared to irritate the ruffian. "I will not seek," said he, "but, without stirring from this spot, I will compel you to bring me what I ask, or have you scourged to death." So saying, the wretch gave the signal to the executioners, who came forward with cords to bind, and thick rattans to scourge her. These preparations at first bewildered the poor woman, thus abandoned to the fury of a ferocious brute. She uttered a loud cry, and throwing herself at his feet, said, with a look that might have touched the hardest heart, "Have pity on me!" But this barbarian answered with his accustomed fierceness, that he would have no mercy on her, ordering her to be taken and tied to the door of her room, and having her arms, hands, and fingers cruelly beaten. At this sad spectacle, her grandmother, her relatives, her servants, and her son uttered cries which would have moved any one but this hardened wretch. The whole of the unhappy family cast themselves at his feet, and touching the ground with their foreheads, implored mercy, but in vain. He continued to torture her from seven to nine o'clock; and not having been able to gain anything, he carried her off, with all her family, except the grandmother, whose great age and severe illness made it impossible to remove her.

For some time no one knew what had become of Madame Constance, but at last her position was discovered. A Jesuit Father was one day passing by the stables of her palace, when the lady's aunt, who shared her captivity, begged permission of the guards to address the holy man, and ask him for money, prom[illegible] that they should share it. In this manner was mad[illegible]n the humiliating condition of this unhappy and [illegible]ious lady, shut up in a stable, where, half dead from the [illegible]e had endured, she lay stretched upon a piece of

matting, her son at her side. The Father daily sent her provisions, which were the only means of subsistence for herself and family, to whom she distributed food with so small a regard for her own wants, that a little rice and dried fish were all that she took for her own share, she having made a vow to abstain from meat for the rest of her life.

Up to this time, the grand mandarin had not ventured to put an end to the existence of M. Constance, whom the French general had sent to demand, as being under the protection of the King, his master; but now, judging that there was nothing more to fear either from him or from his friends, he resolved to get rid of him. It was on the 5th of June, Whitsun-eve, that he ordered his execution by the Phaja Sojatan, his son, after having, without any form of trial, caused to be read in the palace the sentence of death given by himself against this minister, whom he accused of having leagued with his enemies. This sentence pronounced, the accused was mounted on an elephant, and taken, well guarded, into the forest of Thale-Phutson, as if the tyrant had chosen the horrors of solitude to bury in oblivion an unjust and cruel deed.

Those who conducted him remarked that during the whole way he appeared perfectly calm, praying earnestly, and often repeating aloud the names of Jesus and of Mary.

When they reached the place of execution, he was ordered to dismount, and told that he must prepare to die. The approach of death did not alarm him; he saw it near as he had seen it at a distance, and with the same intrepidity. He asked of Sojatan only a few moments to finish his prayer, which he did kneeling, with so touching an air, that these heathens were moved by it. His petitions concluded, he lifted his hands towards heaven, and protesting his innocence, declared that he died willingly, having the testimony of his conscience that, as a minister, he had acted solely for the glory of the true God, the service of the King, and the welfare of the State; that he forgave his enemies, as he hoped himself to

be forgiven by God. "For the rest, my lord," said he, turning to the Sojatan, "were I as guilty as my enemies declare me, my wife and my son are innocent: I commend them to your protection, asking for them neither wealth nor position, but only life and liberty." Having uttered these few words, he meekly raised his eyes to heaven, showing by his silence that he was ready to receive the fatal blow.

An executioner advanced, and cut him in two with a back stroke of his sabre, which brought him to the ground, heaving one last, long sigh.

Thus died, at the age of forty-one, in the very prime of life, this distinguished man, whose sublime genius, political skill, great energy and penetration, warm zeal for religion, and strong attachment to the King, his master, rendered worthy of a longer life and of a happier destiny.

Who can describe the grief of Madame Constance at the melancholy news of her husband's death?

This illustrious descendant of Japanese martyrs was subjected to incredible persecutions, which she endured to the end with heroic constancy and wonderful resignation.

Strangely contrasted with this account of Phaulcon is that given by Kämpfer:—

"Faulcon (or, as he sign'd himself, Phaulkon) was a Grecian by birth—a man of great understanding, an agreeable aspect, and an eloquent tongue, notwithstanding he was brought up to no learning, and had passed his younger years mostly at sea among different nations, particularly the English, whose language he had learned. Being in the service of the latter in quality of coxswain, he came to Siam, and obtain'd employment at Court. His natural abilities, ready apprehension, and good success in affairs entrusted to him, which were at first of little importance, but by degrees of greater moment, raised him in the space of nine years to a position of the highest credit and authority; for he was put at the head of the financial department, and had also the direction of the

King's household. Almost all public affairs of the most important nature were determin'd by his advice, and whoever had anything to solicit was forced to apply to him. The better to secure himself in this authority, he thought it necessary to support it by some foreign power, of which he judg'd the French nation to be the most proper for seconding his designs, which appeared even to aim at the Royal dignity. In order to this, he made his Sovereign believe that, by the assistance of the said nation, he might polish his subjects, and put his dominions into a flourishing condition. Accordingly, an embassy was sent from Siam to France, which occasioned two in return from thence to Siam: Jesuits, artists, and military officers were invited. General des Farges having arrived with some hundred soldiers, was by him put in possession of the fortress of Bankok, the key of the kingdom, situated on the great river Meinam, six leagues from the harbour. The French soldiers, together with other troops raised in the country, were there put in garrison, and the place strengthened by new fortifications. These preparations being made, he entered into arrangements with the French general, and some mandarins or officers of the Crown in whom he confided. Moupi Tatso, the King's son-in-law, and by him adopted, a dependant of his, was to be placed on the throne as soon as the sick King should be dead, whose increasing dropsy threatened him with sudden dissolution. Petraatia and his sons, the King's two brothers, as presumptive heirs to the crown, and whoever else was like to oppose the conspirator's designs, were to be despatched out of the way. Pursuant to this scheme, Moupi's father and relations had already raised 1400 men, who lay dispersed through the country; and the better to facilitate the execution of this design, Faulcon persuaded the sick King, having found means to introduce himself into his apartment in private, that it would be very much for the security of his person, during the ill state of his health, to send for the French general and part of his garrison up to Livo, where the King then was, being a

city 15 leagues N. of Judia, and the usual place of the King's residence, where he used to spend most part of his time. General des Farges being on his way thither, the conspiracy was discovered by Petraatia's own son, who happening to be with two of the King's concubines in an apartment adjoyning that where the conspirators were, had the curiosity to listen at the door, and having heard the bloody resolution they had taken, immediately repaired to his father to inform him of it. Petraatia without loss of time acquainted the King with this conspiracy, and then sent for Moupi, Faulcon, and the mandarins of their party, as also for the captain of the guards, to Court, and caused the criminals forthwith to be put in irons, notwithstanding the King express'd the greatest displeasure at his so doing. Faulcon had for some time absented himself from Court, but now being summoned he could no longer excuse himself, though dreading some ill event: 'tis said he took leave of his family in a very melancholy manner. Soon after, his silver chair, wherein he was usually carried, came back empty—a bad omen to his friends and domesticks, who could not but prepare themselves to partake in their master's misfortune. This happened 19th May, in the year 1689. Two days after, Petraatia order'd, against the King's will, Moupi's head to be struck off, throwing it at Faulcon's feet, then loaded with irons, with this reproach: 'See, there is your King!' The unfortunate sick King, heartily sorry for the death of his dearest Moupi, earnestly desired that the deceased's body might not be exposed to any further shame, but decently buried, which was accordingly complied with. Moupi's father was seized by stratagem upon his estate between Judia and Livo, and all their adherents were dispersed. Faulcon, after having been tortured and starv'd for 14 days, and thereby reduc'd almost to a skeleton, had at last his irons taken off, and was carried away after sunset

nary chair, unknowing what would be his fate.

carried to his house, which he found rifled: his

ner in the stable, who, far from taking leave of

him, spit in his face, and would not so much as suffer him to kiss his only remaining son of four years of age, another son being lately dead and still unburied. From thence he was carried out of town to the place of execution, where, notwithstanding all his reluctancy, he had his head cut off. His body was divided into two parts, and covered with a little earth, which the dogs scratch'd away in the night-time, and devoured the corpse to the bones. Before he died, he took his seal, two silver crosses, a relick set in gold which he wore on his breast, being a present from the Pope, as also the order of S. Michael which was sent him by the King of France, and deliver'd them to a mandarin who stood by, desiring him to give them to his little son;—presents, indeed, that could be of no great use to the poor child, who to this day, with his mother, goes begging from door to door, nobody daring to intercede for them."*

* *History of Japan*, vol. i., p. 19—21. London, 1728.

F.

THE following curious narrative of the illness and death of the young Queen of Siam is copied *verbatim et literatim*, with the omission only of certain medical details not suitable for the general reader, from the autograph MS. of the King in my possession. It contains so many references to Siamese customs, and is altogether so remarkable a production, that I have thought it worthy a place among the Appendices.

The Information

Of the most lamentable illness and death of Her Young Amiable Majesty the Queen Somanass Waddhanawaddy wattee the lawful Royal consort of His Most Excellent gracious Majesty "Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut," the King of Siam and reigning upon the present times.

This princess was born on the 21st December 1834, being the sole daughter of the late most excellent prosperious prince named His Royal Highness the prince "Naksnanugun" who was dead on commencement of the June of the year 1835, after six months from his daughter's birth. Upon the same time His gracious Majesty "Somdetch Phra: Nangklua Chau yoo hua the late King of Siam, has done his most heavy
greatest
compassion upon this orphant royal girl, caused her to be
pity
brought to the grand Royal Palace from her Royal father's palace and adopted her as firm as hisself lawful regal daughter. and brought fort her gradually under the care of her aunt named her Royal Highness Princess "Willasee" who died on the time of her niece's infancy. for loss of her esteemed aunt

also the late King has made his most compassion upon
commiseration
her exceedingly. did regal mandate to make her once self inharited whole property and retinues belonged to her late
all properties
Royal father and aunt, and dignefied her in highest degree of royal daughters honours, in name entitled thus (Phra Ong Chau Somanass Wadhanawaddy) and on the time of her hairs cutting in her 12 years ages allowed a great ceremonial
ceremony of
procession in manner of honour of highest royal youths or infants called Chaufa in whuit manner their Majesties two present Sublime and second Kings ever have been on the reign of thier late esteemed Royal father, and other so dignification as She was expected by great many people both native and foreign in tributary adjacent countries during the late times on his reign.

And on demise of his Majisty Somdetch Phra Nang Klau the late King of Siam and ascencion to the throne of his successor Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut* Phra Chom Klau the present King, whole council of royalty and nobility, and seeing that She now has no to protector and refuge as his late Majesty and moving great compassion upon her has been to her and that His present Majesty also being just returned from priesthood where he had devoted and lived as long as 27 years ago, has no lawful royal consort (for in internal service as legally and suitably as the lawful heir of future Royal Authority may be expected) did a single opinion to unite His newly enthroned Majesty with Her Royal Highness by mariage and coronation of her highness to be his Majesty's queen consort, the ceremony of Royal nuptiem and her coronation took place on 2d of January 1852 which is 48th year of His Majesty's age and 18th of Her Majesty's.

But alas! the pleasure of super-agency (God Demerits and demerits &c. demons &c. according different various faiths) must be otherwise. Though since she was married

and crowned in full dignity of the queen consort and united firmestly with his Majesty, alway in both private and publick, She was respected, treated with highest honour by whole people of Siamese kingdom and has received very often respectful compliments and some presents from the adjacent tributary countries in every direction and even friendship and some presents from certain noble persons and gentlemen of foreign countries who are formerly correspondent friends of His Majesty the present King. So that she was happy during six months in which she became pregnant in due course, after those proceeded month most unfortunate event has fallen upon her that she became sick and ill of fatal disease which firstly appeared to be curable, by all physicians both native and foreign proferred her disease to be in usual nature of pregnancy, as it occasioned by merely frequent vomiting and displeasure of food. then its symptoms appeared exactly once on the 25th June 1852 by occurrence of painful uneasiness . . . . . . She was treated by Siamese official doctors for whose treatment she suffered but four or five days from attack of nause and vomiting and sore or pain in her abdomen, after eclipse of moon on 1st July she had seemingly recovered her health and got well from the foresaid uneasiness. After 40 days however Alas! when she arrived the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy she returned to her former painful suffering by seizing with pain in the regeion of abdomen that was followed night of 10th of August with occasional vomiting. On the next day symptoms of painful fever appeared which increased till 14th August after that she became better, nearly regained her former state but her strength and quantity of food was less than usual. On the night of 18th August however she had a return of sickness and was worse than on the former occasion. her nause and vomiting continued days and nights with great pain in region of her abdomen so that her miscariage became inevitable. it accordingly to the same consequence took place on Saturday the 21st August at 1 oclock a.m. when her Majesty has safely delivered a living male royal

infant Her royal Son though very feeble and small was born alive crying and giving the usual signs of infantile life, so that many persons of royalty and ability were immediately assem-
was
bled with the officers of the palace and welcomed the royal hier's arrival by birth with highest manner of music and other demonstrations of joy: they made its bed in the golden seat covered with white surrounded with royal weapons, book pencil &c according to ancient regal custom and placed its careful and protection Alas! but three hours after his birth on a lapsed and stopped his breath on 4 oclock P.M of that day. so its lif was very brief one. the officer then have carried away its remains secretly let her Majesty know nothing about it pretending that it was placed in other room very well because her former sickness stil continued after deliverance of her child. So Her Majesty became worse on the first night of her confinement by continued vomiting, the strokes or times of which could not be counted, great quantity of substances moeult or phlegm spittle, just eaten food &c got out from
mucus
her mouth muchly, so she could not breathe very well, and almost would lost her life for that attack on the night of 22nd August, several Siamese different physicians were assembled and consulted and tried to relife her, but none could made her continued vomiting be stiled even but half an hour. His Royal Highness the Prince Krom Hluang wongsa dhiraj snidh, has tried to give one or two droped of Homœopathic Medical work, by which Her Majesty's long continued during the night vomiting and nause were so stopped or relifed as she could happiness of sleeping well on 4 or 5 oclock A.M. On next day (23d August) His Majesty the King and His Royal Highness the prince "Krom Hluang Wonsadhiraj sniddh" and other many princes and her sevants consulted with several Siamese physicans, and took the final counsel of all who in her service and former treatment to put her under the care Doctor

D. B. Bradley one of American physicians now in Siam who were called to consult with him.

Then Doctor D. B. Bradley connexted her treatment according to the Homœopathic mode which was just introduced to Siam on Ulitimo by himself.

It was not so much believed in by Siamese countrymen as it ought to be necessary to indulge in part Her Majesty's wish to follow the usual Siamese customs of confinement, and accordingly she layed by the fire as it is universal pratice with the Siamese females after the birth of their Children, the contrary mode from most many around her was inevitable if it were prohibited by Dr. D. B. Bradley and his believers a few.

Since so treatment of the American Doctor by the Homœopathic mode seemed to be no better as Her nause and vomiting and getting of the kind of fever was seldom by days, but could not be reliefed at all, the considerable attack of the disease occasioned every day, during 7 or 8 days so that on 28th August which was seventh day of the death of Her Royal Son little Chaufa (honoured name of children and persons, born of the King with the Queen or any high princess, or any other prince with mother who was Chaufa or of both Chaufas in Siam) having known of the loss of Her Majesty's upspring, His and Her Majesties have prepared some considerable valued donation and offered to assembly of Siamese Buddhist priests, gave donation of some Siamese Coints* put in balls to the people, by throwing or falling off in every direction of Her Majesty's residence to both men and women going and coming around upon same time. This considerable there money made for customary funeral service and offering for the death of His Royal Highness the expired prince little Chaufa, her feeble son because he came to be royal upspring of His and Her Majesty, though he did live but

* Coins.

three hours, and received the royal infantel honours but in moments.

After since the 29th and 30th of August however, she unfortunately became worse, by vomiting some black, and some greenish and yellowish matter, which determined by many physicians to be her bile mixed with something from her stomach, and the former kind of the fever more advanced so that her pulse unduly quicked. Then Doctor Bradley petitioned to her and the royalty and nobility to do her out of laying in fire in usual Siamese custom and receive his treatment according to his pleasure in every respect. it was permitted and accorded. Under so only the Homœopathic treatment she slowly seemed to be improved by loss of her vomiting and nause and disappearance of the affection by attacking of the kind of fever, but her food yet was less and her strength became lost, making her very lean and feeble.

She so appeared to be in continued betterness till 11th September when or on which day swelling of her feet and other bad symptoms were appeared to certain parties of Siamese physicians and her friends and kindred who became very alarmed and consulted one another and it was resolved to try Siamese physicians again in fact Her Majesty himself in her conscience or credit of nature of Her mind, does not believe and please Dr. D. B. Bradley, who is a foreigner and seemed to her being sranger and also his work in new mode of the Homœopathy, in which but a drop and drop of sprit only put' in 'one or two spools of pure water in use in her frequent drinking, also the statements of the same Doctor and his believers became almost unbeleivable to her as hardly as without present examples of healths of any partient of such a disease as similar of Her. When she was tried in Medical work of Siamese physicians, who gave her treatment in their usual mode of alowpathy. But alas! After three days Her Majesty did not returned to be but little better Merely growing worse, instead of better so that none of Siamese physicians could state or accept to make her well. Wherefore Doctor

Bradley was again called, and invited to treat her according to his pleasure. On the occasion of treatment of Siamese physicians, her vomiting of black and yellowish matters continued, accompanied with sore and painful affections in her breath &c. occurred seven or eight times per a day.

Since return of Doctor Bradley curing her in the homœopathy, in which mode he having relinquished or negled his knowledge of Alowpathy (in which he had been worked very long. and hardly believed and devoted to, or he could not allow a use any other Medical work of homœopathy at all. by 16th September she seemed to be little better by being scarceness of so frequent vomiting of black or yellowish or green matters, which were supposed or determined by her physicians, that was her bile going to her stomach and every symptom of loadness having seemingly improved, because her affliction attacked as seldom as less than on the former days when she was at treatment of Siamese physicians. but O! her weakness and refusal of convinion food yet prevailed on her, because the vomiting still continued as every day, as there was no day in which there was no vomiting, continued obstinately refusing to yield to any remedies.

On demise or relapsing of a few days Doctor Bradley could not do her vomiting less, but instead of that her vomitings returned to be most frequent, and aggravation of her symptoms, until the yellow colour appeared in her face and body, consequently she was again put in the hands of official Siamese physician, who did not accept to cure her with their credible statements or determination. for this consequence the proclamation issued with offering of reward of many piculs of money who would relife her and make her former state of health. On this occasion since her becoming worse in hands of Doctor Bradley her pulse increased greaterly in frequency and on the 27th September she became delirious because upon the same day the Royal proclamation was issued among the people of city with offering of two piculs of money for reward if any one could relife her and make her well, and there was

an old physician of Siam out of official physical party of royal service, came to examine her wishing to try his manufacture, and was permitted to see her. then the old physician misunderstood her disease determined or dedigted that she was so worse for mistreatment in midwifery or ostetric because she did lay near of fire in very less of time and he accepted to cure her with his hard statement and his word was believed by many of her friends and kindred so that the allowance to him for his treatment was inevitable even from His Majesty himself but alas! after two or three hours drinking of three or four spools of his disolved arometical medicines, she became delirious. so as she could not speak correctly as well as before and occasionalety or frequently her cryings out with loud noise with proper designs and agitation to and fro took place. Then His Majesty himself immediately has rejected the same old ignorant covertude physician from his work and called Dr. Bradley again to return, he has delivered her for his treatment until the end of her life. though she appeared to all that being fatal or becoming victim.

When Homœopathic medicines were resorted to her, but the success of the Doctor was but only partial. On first day of October her eyes became strangely fixed and she did her

seemed to do

misopinion to be silent alway and refused both medicines and nourishment. On this occasion it was observed ascertaniedly

Upon this day

that there was an abscess that must have been occurred to her, probably before her pregnancy and has been broken for vehemently agitation of her body. Her Majesty by mean of some remedy and service on various ways, was restored to her consciousness though manifestly failing in strength until the 6th October, on this interval His Majesty the King and her kindred have brought many donations Yellow Clothes &c to her, and introduced her to offer her last offering to the priesthood and to receive the sacred instruction of deadly meditation according to Buddhistical tenets from High priests,

where her faith was longly educated and placed. Her Majesty could accord yielding to this instruction and has offered those clothes &c to many hundreds of Buddhist priests and received instruction benivolently though attacking of painful affliction vomiting &c occasioned her every day and she became lost gradually her strength.

But on 6th October alas! there appeared indubitable evidence, that the abscess was also discharging its contents; after this she sunk rapidly during course of three days, and breathed her last breath on the 10th of October 1852 at 6 o'clock P.M. greatestly lamented and bewailed by all the Royal household.

Her remains was bathed and adorned with golden dead ornaments, according the Royal custom in full style of regal queen's dignity, and arrayed with many pieces of white clothes, and put in the golden Urn or vessel called "*Phra Koli*" crown at her head outside with queen crown, and covered with the cover of the Urn or same vessel then removed from queen's residence upon that night to the "Tusita Mahaprasud" the great richly gilded hall of the grand palace and placed or laid at the room where the royal remains of His late Majesty had been place during 13 Months since April 1851 until May inst. her remains also was wile layed thereon in state surrounded with all things of her insignifications until the burning takes place which will be after an interval of 4 or 5 months with some considerable ceremonies suitable to her exalted rank it will be perhaps on about March or April proximo.

Her most amiable youthful Majesty the queen Somanass Waddhanawaddy had been most beloved adopted royal daughter of His late Majisty Somdetch Phra Nanklau Chau Yu hua the late King of Siam since her infantile life or former part of her age and became higher and higher in dignity of royal famile until her 13 years ages which she was dignified and entitled in rank of highest royal daughter same of that of *Chaufa* and became the queen consort of His

present Majesty S. P. P. Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu hua on commencement of the present year, lived happily with most esteemed lawful royal husband the King of Siam but only seven months since January till end of July, but since 10th August till 10th October two months contain 62 days and nights, she was sick and ill, so she has stood in rank of queen consort but 9 months little more a few days. For her so accedent death in her youth and most amiability, and great prosperity after very sort times of her highest happiness, she was most lamented and bewailed by His Majesty and other most many in Siam even great many part of the people of City foreigners of atributary countries.

After her death all Siamese, Chinese and American physicians concluded that there is most credible reason to know or believe, that the foundations of the disease which was most difficul to relife and finally destroyed the most valuable life of her late Majesty were secretly laid some time previous to espousals to His Majesty the present King; from having been uncommonly stout and fleshy for one of her age she all at once became thin and emaciated, being racked at the time a severe coughing, but the first symptoms of Her late Majesty's illness were afterward appeared since 25th June inst as said above.

Where as Her late Majesty formerly has been an orphan and became the adapted daughter of the King for whose sake she has inharited whole property and retinue, or all both material and spiritual articles from Her late royal parents and aunt, now she has no any one of her half or full brothers or sisters because she was a sole daughter of her royal father and now leaves no heirs. Whole her property and large amount of money together her annual income or private fortune, will be revert to the royal treasure when her funiral service in larboring ceremony took place. and in conclusion

His Majesty the present King has sacred operation and concluded, that a part of her property and said great amount will be expended for the pulpid of the in her former sacred

places or priests monasteries belonged to Her late Royal father and aunt, but another part will be expense for another sacred place which will constructed in newly walled place of this city in her name thus "Somanass Wichare" but the remainders will be in royal "Wat" for republic necessity of country.

Whereas there are many her acquainces in almost every provinces in Siam and its adjacent country even some persons of foreign countries, China Batavia Mussulman &c, who were or are the intimate friends of His Majesty, and became her friends for H. Majesty's sake His Majesty therefore has royal mandate to prepare such an account of her illness and death in Siam for being issued proclamation throughout the kingdom of Siam and adjacent countries in every direction, and also in English for the purpose of being printed and sent for the information of her narrative account until her death to her English friends &c that they might know accurately about her without any gloomy or enquiries about her and put in their emotion &c.

The end.

G.

LETTERS FROM THE KING OF SIAM, ETC.

No. 38.

Royal Audience Hall,
Grand Palace, Bangkok,
28th March, 1855.

MY RESPECTED GRACIOUS FRIEND,—I am now indeed very glad for your Excellency's arrival, as mostly as it is the fulfilling of my longly expecting mind and earnest desire of personal respect with your Excellency, which would be better than our faithful correspondences between us, which were continued so long as for many years ago.

I have informed your Excellency's arrival to all members of our Government: they are all very glad, and trusting that the visit of your Excellency is peaceful, and your Excellency is my intimate corresponding friend, from whom they expect favourable discussion of treaty, &c.

On yesterday morning, after your Excellency's arrival, being just learned less than an hour, I have written the foregone of No. 37 immediately, and sent down to the sea together some articles of food,—Siamese fruits abundant on the present season, and some Siamese manufactured sweet articles, cakes, &c., in hand of my private ministers, Messrs. Nai kham nai suong raj ban han and Nai Bhoo (the latter of whom your Excellency would remember), to present your Excellency my first respect and cordial welcome hurrily.

But I am little sorry that they both were, or are, not acquired with but little knowledge of English. So your Excellency would know my being glad but perusal of my letter, or through interpreter.

To-day I beg to send your Excellency some articles of salt food, put in six bottles, and six pints of salt fishes and venison:

the latter may be for your Excellency's retinue, or accompany all foresaid articles in hand or charge of the bearer hereof, who is a gentleman, and my private minister, "Mom kou tae," who acquired with considerable way of English language in speaking and writing, whom I could not get to send-down on yesterday. I trust your Excellency will please to converse with him.

I have ordered his Excellency "Chau Phya Sri-Suriy Wongse" Samuh Phra Kralahom to accept your Excellency at Parknam with great respect, and consult with your Excellency to do well proper in what manner your Excellency will be conveyed to this city. He got down last night, and now in Parknam. Your Excellency's messengers who went to proceed to this city, for witnessing the prepared residence for your Excellency, are allowed to come according to their pleasure. It is said they will come up to-morrow. I beg to assure your Excellency that all things here will be in peaceful manner and gracious respects.

I wish your Excellency to be here as long for many days as possible to your Excellency. Do not fear for our expenses, &c., as I wish to enjoy the entertainment with such a noble and favourable friend as your Excellency are to me.

I beg to remain your Excellency's faithful friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
Kt., Dr. of Law, &c. &c. &c.

No. 39.

Royal Audience Hall,
Grand Palace, Bangkok,
31st March, 1855.

MY GRACIOUS FRIEND,—My two private ministers, Messrs. Nai Kham nai suong raj ban han and Nai Bhoo, who had been my letters-bearer, and sent down to present your Excel-

lency my respect and cordial welcoming at sea, have returned from your Excellency's presence, and arrived here on 29th inst. They have handed your Excellency's letter, written me under the date of 28th inst., which I have perused with much joy, and their oral statement regarding your Excellency's pleasant conduct in the time of their treatment pleased me mostly. I have ordered my officers to supply your Excellency with pilots to get up the steamer to the mouth of "Chauphyah" river; (this the proper name of our river;) but I fear the high water must permit to your Excellency's steamer on about 1st or 2nd April, which will be near of the full moon.

On yest day his Honour "Phra-nai-Wai-Wasnarth," the son of his Excellency Chau Phya Sri Suriy Wongse, S. P. K., has come from your Excellency's presence: informed me that he has been sent to visit your Excellency by his noble father, and that your Excellency has required him to request me for allowance of my Royal standard to be hosted or erected in one top of masts of the steamer, when she will be on time of salute.

I have allowed to do and give according your Excellency's pleasure. I trust he will hand your Excellency my Royal standard in the same manner of that is flying in this palace. I beg to return and present my sincere thank for your Excellency's much respect toward me.

I beg to remain your Excellency friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
Knight, Dr. of Laws, and Plenipotentiary, &c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wish yourself alone be entered to my presence before two accompanied strangers a few minutes:

it would appeared best than all three individuals come up the same moment, as yourself alone has been my acquainted by longly correspondence; the other two will have the honour to be with me on such time for yourself sake.

When your Excellency has received my cordial welcoming firstly, after a few minutes your Excellency shall request me to let them follow your Excellency's way.

This from your Excellency's friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT.

No. 42.

Rajmondern House,
Grand Palace, Bangkok,
3rd April, 1855.

MY FAVOURING FRIEND,—I have availed myself to-day morning by having learnt from letter of my prime minister, and royal affectionate cousin, his Excellency Chau Phya Sri Suriy-wongse, S. P. K. (whom I had sent down to "Parknam" to welcome your Excellency as far as the mouth of our river firstly when your Excellency would be just entered), giving me the information that the steamer *Rattler*, conveying your Excellency, was arrived the town of "Parknam" on 5 P.M. yesterday; and that after your Excellency's personal meeting with him this morning, at about 11 A.M. to-day, your Excellency will be conveyed by the dressed boat which I have sent down for honour of your Excellency to proceed up here, and that your Excellency will arrive the place of prepared new residence this evening. After being adcertained of your Excellency arrival, I beg to present my manual scripts on these lines to pay my respectful cordial welcome here firstly on your Excellency's arrival, through hands of two noble private ministers, one of whom entitled "His Excellency Phya Wora-phonse Phiphath," the second or left head of all four parties of my private minister, corresponding or in being

pair of the other who had visited your Excellency firstly when the steamer entered to Parknam yesterday evening, being sent by his older brother, H. E. Chauphya Sri Suriy-wongse. This nobleman is my cousin likely of the latter, related by birth with the present royalty. And another entitled his Honour Cha Mun Sarruphet Phaety, the head of one of four parties of private minister, corresponding by dignity with his Honour Phra nai Wai Warnaeth, the son of H. E. Chauphya Sri Suriy-wongse, who has visited your Excellency at outside of the bar, and from whom my flag of Royal standard was required and got by your Excellency. The latter (his Honour Chau Mun Sarruphet Phaedy), in fact, is my adopted dear son, given to me by their parent on his infancy, and became man under my bringing fourth, and ever had been sent down once to Singapore by myself, when I had been but a prince here; so he has been acquainted with your Excellency friend his Honour W. J. Butterworth, C. B., and his lady, and other many my friend of that port; so his name was called at that port "Ching Napoleon" formerly, but now connected or added with his dignificial tittle "Phra-nai Sarruphet Phaedy," to whom my friend Col. W. J. Butterworth, C.B., always directs his private letter to care for myself, when I am upon this Royal authority.

I beg to send these two forenamed and explained to your Excellency presence to welcome your Excellency here on first arrival here for myself, as well as these two noblemen are my most beloved and faithful and great my confidant. I beg to recommend them to your Excellency. Whatever your Excellency would need from me or wish to say to me, your Excellency need not trouble to write the notes frequently here. Please say or inform, or tell to one of them, and order to be informed to me. Or if your Excellency would please to write me some time, please send me through their or one's care; they will obey your Excellency alway; and that whatever they would inform your Excellency by their oral words, that I

have ordered them to inform your Excellency, or consult with your Excellency. Please I beg to recommend faithfully believe with doubt that is myself words or order.

Believe me, I beg to remain
Your Excellency faithful friend,
(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

P.S.—I'll sent both or one of the foresaid my noble private minister to visit your Excellency at the residence every day during Excellency dwelling here.

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING, K., LL.D., and Plenipotentiary of her Gracious Britanic Majesty, &c. &c. &c.

No. 43.

Rajouty House, Grand Palace,
3rd April, 1855, 10 P.M.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—In your Excellency's conversation with our noble two heads of private ministers to-day regard the salute of 21 guns on board *Rattler*, which would be up to the new fortification below this city to-morrow, they (two my ministers) have declaired the Siamese custom and forbetten the one salute of 21 guns. Now I have resolved to allow according to your Excellency's custom and pleasure of much respect toward myself; so, agreeably to your Excellency pleasure, I have issued my proclamation (printed in thin papers, one of which enclosed herewith) among our citizen and people, forbitting their alarm. I beg, therefore, to permit or agree that 21 guns on board the steamer *Rattler* shall be fired on salute in her arrival at directed place of anchor, near of new fort. Then, on the end of 21st gun, our military party upon fort will answer with the same

numbers. Please order to your Excellency captain of steamer to salute according to English custom.

This from your Excellency friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
K., LL.D., &c. &c. &c.

(*Enclosure.*)

A Royal proclamation of the Senior King, condescending graciously to the vested tuft and crown of the people, giving them to know conveniently throughout every magistrate's district, that the British envoy who has come at this time is a person who has been intimately acquainted in and under the soles and dust of the sacred feet for a long time past. For this reason (he), condescending graciously to the vested tuft and crown, allows the fire-ship, being a war-vessel, that which has now arrived, to come up to the mouth of Canal Phadong Krung Kasem below. If, when the fire-ship shall come up, and the captain fire large guns—a salute of 21 guns to the powers of the great angelic city—and the soldiers in Fort Pitpatchanük shall fire another 21 guns, being altogether 42 guns, let not the people be frightened or startled at all by any means. This firing of guns is the custom of vessels of war, like the custom of junks to beat gongs mutually.

Published on Tuesday, the 5th month, the 1st evening of the waning moon, in the year of the Rabbit, and the 6th year of the cycle of ten.*

* A literal translation from the Siamese.

No. 45. Rajmondern House, Grand Palace,
5th April, 1855.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am sorry to say I have lost my rememberance to hand my cards which I intent to hand to your Excellency and the other two accompanied gentlemen on last night. Please pardon me for lossing my rememberance.

I beg to enclose three of my cards, one of which your Excellency shall take himself, and please hand the other two to them both in their respective names, with my respectful compliment.

I pleased very much indeed with your Excellency's humour and graceful entertainment with me took place last night.

I beg to send your Excellency the letter I have just received from my old friend Colonel W. J. Butterworth, C.B., for your Excellency's perusal. It was written by gracious styles.

I wish it to be returned to me after perusal.

I beg to remain, your Excellency friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
K., LL.D., &c. &c. &c.

Bangkok, April 6th, 1855.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—Your Majesty's kindness and courtesy are beyond all my praise; and in this last mark of your Royal attention—in sending money for the supply of my table—I see only a new proof of that urbane generosity to which I am so much indebted. But I hope your Majesty will graciously allow me to say, that I am afraid my Sovereign would be displeased with me if I ventured to accept these

Royal pecuniary gifts; and as your Majesty has so benignantly assured me that I may speak in the name of ancient friendship and confidence, I humbly hope that your Majesty will forgive and appreciate my motives.

And I will now venture to ask a favour of your Majesty, which, if it can be granted, I shall much esteem. The distance of the steamer from my residence exposes the officers to much inconvenience, and the health of the men is suffering from the exposure in the boats to the hot sun. Would your Majesty graciously allow the *Rattler* to come up, and to be stationed opposite my residence? If this were done to-morrow, any of the nobles or servants of your Majesty might see the working of the engines much better than they can do by visiting the ship when she is at rest. But if your Majesty see any objection, I shall not feel hurt by your Majesty's not consenting to this.

I have the honour to be, now and always,
Your Majesty's very obliged
and obedient friend and servant,
(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

To his Excellent Majesty the
King of Siam, &c. &c. &c.

Palace of the 2nd King, Bangkok,
April 6th, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your Excellency's note of yesterday has been duly received; and, in reply to it, I would beg leave to say that I would prefer the time for giving your Excellency a public audience in my palace to be fixed to Wednesday, the 11th inst., as Tuesday, the day your Excellency has proposed, is a Siamese sacred day. And in regard to the private interview requested, I feel constrained by ill health to postpone it

a few days. I will give you due notice when I shall be happy to have a private audience with your Excellency.

And with the assurance of my high respects,

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed) S. PHRA PIN KLAU CHAU-YU-HUA,
2nd King of Siam, &c.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING.

Address to the First King.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—I have come by the orders of my gracious Sovereign to the Royal Court of your Majesty on a Mission of peace and amity.

Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to favour me with a cordial and honourable welcome; and I have been, through your Majesty's goodness, enabled, in consultation with the great ministers of your Majesty's appointment, to conclude a Treaty of commerce and friendship, whose faithful observance will secure the happy intercourse and good understanding of the two countries as long as the sun shall shine and the rivers roll to the sea.

I doubt not that these arrangements will redound to the honour of your Majesty's illustrious name. That name is already distinguished and respected among Western nations. And I earnestly pray that every blessing may descend upon your Majesty's head, and that your Majesty's reign may be long, happy, and prosperous, resplendent through all time in reputation and glory.

16th April, 1855.

Rajmondern House, Grand Palace,
17th April, 1855.

The *sweet tamarinds* just brought from northern Laos country, presented to his Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knight, LL.D., &c. &c. &c., by his beloved friend S. P. P. M. Mongkut, the King of Siam, trusting that they would be acceptable if they were curiously different from common or *abundant tamarinds.*

Address to the Second King.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—Commissioned by my gracious Sovereign to bear the words of peace and friendship to the kingdom of Siam, it is a high gratification for me, having paid my humble respects to his Majesty the First King, thus publicly to present them to your Majesty, the Second King. It was the principal object of my visit to this Court and capital to place the trading relations of my country with the Government and the people of Siam on solid and durable foundations; and I have to express to your Majesty my deep sense of gratitude for the kindness and promptitude with which your Majesty, in co-operation with your Royal brother, nominated noble commissioners whose labours have already been crowned with success—and a Treaty of commerce and amity has been agreed on, which will, when honourably carried out, be a benefit and a blessing, not only to the subjects of the two contracting Powers, but to mankind at large, which never fails to participate in the advantages of enlightened legislation.

Your Majesty, whose knowledge of our language and unwearied devotion to scientific pursuits are appreciated and honoured in the Western world, will, I earnestly hope, be long privileged to witness the growing greatness of your country.

May every good be your Majesty's portion, and peace, prosperity and honour be now and for ever associated with your Majesty's illustrious name!

17 April, 1855.

No. 47. Rajmondern House, Grand Palace,
18th April, 1855.

My respected Friend,—It has been informed me last night, that your Excellency's desire occurred to have from me more my cards for them who lost opportunity to have from my hand.

So I am very glad to comply your Excellency's desire; beg to enclose a duzen of my cards herewith, trusting your Excellency will please to accept and distribute among or to them whom your Excellency please; and the remainders, but a few, will be for your Excellency's own family (whom I wish your Excellency to give my respectful and gracious compliments to), or one to Honourable Blundell, Esquire, the recently succeeded in office of the Governor of Straite or Prince of Wales Island, whom your Excellency say to introduce to be my correspondent friend for conveyance of any needable between your Excellency and myself.

I beg to send the bearer hereof to accept from your Excellency what your Excellency has directed me last night to send for acceptance.

This personage is understanding some things about marchant and screws, &c. I trust he can perhaps to accept instruction for adjustment of the useful instrument without failing in any case, if there be ability to study by oral instruction or models without reading.

To-morrow morning, some about 10 A.M., the large company of the dancing women will commence to display their

conducts for your Excellency's and others accompanied interesting or amusement, if your Excellency have leisure hour to call upon this palace on the appointed time.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency very faithful,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. Mongkut,
The 1st King of Siam,
Rex Siamensium.

P.S.—The accompanied case or fine envelope for that which had been at your Excellency's own hand.

(Signed) S. P. P. M. Mongkut, *R. S.*

To his Excellency Sir John Bowring,
K., LL.D., &c &c. &c.

No. 48. Rymonden House, Grand Palace,
18th April, 1855.

My respected Friend,—I beg to declaire what your Excellency concerned last night regarding the prohibition of boads [boats] of the American missionaries going down to travel at sea or mouth of our river. It is not great important, indeed, and not alway; but occasioned once for when ministers placed at Parknam some time during a few numbers of days, to examine or apprehend of some things in our necessity, and then to prevent or make far from quarelsomeness of our ministers with certain cruel missionaries and their boatmen, who ever have committed such the conducts with my minister at Parknam once lately. In the proclamation of their prohibition we did say this prohibition shall be stood until my established ministers returned from Parknam on the end of the southern monsoon, or being all arrived of vessels from China, after which time the freedom permitted as usual.

But on hearing of your Excellency's concern, I have ordered to place their freedom away.

Do not believe any exaggerations circuled here or at foreign ports, with inquiring my statement, as in this wild country the exaggerated or false rumours frequently circuled and prevailed among the people of several languages in various ways.

I beg assure you I will obey you what my opinion agrees with, will inquire for explanation what I could not understand.

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
Primus et Major Rex Siamensium.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
K., LL.D., &c. &c. &c.

No 53.

Rajmondern House,
Grand Palace, Bangkok,
21st April, 1855.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received the copy of your Excellency's credentials from her Britannic Majesty enclosed with yours of this day.

I beg to return my very sincere thanks for the copy enclosed, which I beg to assure your Excellency.

This copy will be translated in Siamese language truly by myself and read to our whole council, and the copy and its true translation will be kept here for our signal of the new treaty just negociated and concluded.

I have prepaired my Royal communication addressed to her Britanic Majesty, both in Siamese characters engraved in golden plate, and in English by myself manuscripts; and I wish to offer some valuable presents which are genuen Siamese manufactures. I have prepared something to be accompanied

my communication through your Excellency's care and conveyance: this not for commonly answering to her Majesty's gift to me, but for my very respectful compliment to her particularly or pectuliarty, wishing Her Majesty's gracious and merciful notice toward me sooner than I might send embasshy from home to pay our homage to her. The box of my letter with some presents will be carried in your Excellency pursuence down to sea on Monday noon, in which I wish your Excellency to come up and take leave me personally, and receive the golden key of the box from my own hand, with the copy of the true translation of my communication to her Majesty.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's faithful friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The First King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
K., Doctor of Law, &c. &c.

No. 55.

Rajmondern House,
Grand Palace, Bangkok,
23rd April, 1855.

To-day morning I have forgot to ask your Excellency for my certain necessity; permit to pursue your Excellency with this note.

Can your Excellency give me two or three shels which for cannon or mortar on board *Rattler*, and two or three *rockets*, if there were on board, which (the shells and rockets) are newly improved? I wish to observe and consider and refer to our workmen whether would they be able to imitate or follow such

or similar mode thereof for our use here. But my mind will be not hurt or troubled entirely, if your Excellency, on seeing of any object, would say that they are not allowable.

Also before this time once I have seen a model of an article I think now needable for my own use. Allow me to say for the said thing.

There is a chair like an arm-chair; in forehead of its arms there is handle erected holding the book and magnifying-glass for the reader seating upon the chaire: it called reading chair or seat. I wish to follow the model; but our workmen could not do, for some things therein are not exact in the picture.

Will your Excellency order from England to bring me one or two of such reading chairs?

I think it would fit for old man to be happy on reading of the English books.

N.B.—Whatever I have ordered to your Excellency, I shall pay their stated cost fully according to your Excellency's faithful statement in their price, when the articles were arrived with stated cost.

Please favour me by declaration for pardon me in writing to her Britanic Majesty.

The translation of Siamese letter written in English by myself, translated by myself alone; but it was written firstly in draff, which I have revised in every one word with English Dictionary: so the letter of which the copy I have given your Excellency can be said right considerably according to Siamese idiom and style.

But I am very affraid for my second letter, written in English at once in the paper sent in box with draf: it was not revised again, when I have written hurrily throughout the day break or broken. I have but a copy pressed in my letters-book, from which I will take copy and send your Excellency in pursuence to China *viâ* Singapore, with catalogue of the Royal presents. But meaning of my letter I

trust can be understood by English readers every one word—some fine, some would be blameable.

This from your very faithful friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
Rex Siamensium.

P.S.—I think it would be best if I have the receipt of the box of letter and presents for her Britanic Majesty the Queen from your Excellency, in written little papers price, according to English customs.

(Signed) S. P. P. M. M.

2nd P.S.—MY RESPECTED FRIEND,—It would be, I think, best if the salute with 21 gun be done when my communication and valuable presents to Her Britanic Majesty would arrive at the sea, and raised on board *Rattler*. I trust this salute will be done.

I am very [sorry?] to inform your Excellency the most heavy sickness or being worst of his Excellency Somdet Chau Phy, great regent, the father of his Excellency Phya Sri Suriy-wongse, as his death expected or inevitable after a few days.

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
The King of Siam.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
Knight, LL.D., &c. &c. &c.

H. M. S. *Rattler*, Bay of Siam,
24 April, 1855.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—I cannot quit the waters of Siam without again expressing to your Majesty the gratified and grateful sense and high appreciation of the many

courtesies which have welcomed me, both in my public capacity as her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, and in my private position, which your Majesty has so graciously honoured with your Royal confidence.

The recollections of your Majesty will indeed be dear to my memory, and I hope that our personal intercourse will be the harbinger of much and interesting future correspondence. Your Majesty may be assured that I have very deeply at heart to strengthen and consolidate that amity, of which the Treaty of peace and commerce has laid the strong foundations; and I leave this country with the most earnest desire and determination to prove how faithfully and sincerely I am

Your Majesty's most obedient and
obliged friend and servant,

(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

To his Majesty the First King of Siam,
&c. &c. &c.

Your Majesty's Royal communication for the Queen has been safely delivered by Messrs. Joseph and Hunter.

H. M. S. *Rattler*, Bay of Siam,
24 April, 1855.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—It is alike a pleasure and a duty, before I quit these waters, again to thank your Majesty for your abundant kindness exhibited in so many courtesies towards myself and my suite.

I indulge the most gratifying hopes that the Treaty of peace and commerce which it has been my privilege to conclude will be alike beneficial to Siam, to Great Britain, and to the whole community of man. Your Majesty's sagacity cannot fail to appreciate how rapidly the friendly trading relations of one country with another tend to develop the

riches and the strength of each, and I trust the names of those who have been connected with the history of these fortunate negotiations will be deemed worthy of the benedictions of generations and ages to come.

I have the honour to be

Your Majesty's most obedient and faithful friend and servant,

(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

To his Majesty the Second King of Siam.

The true literal translation of the Siamese Royal communication engraved on golden plate, and written in duplicate in Siamese character:—

The supreme Royal communication of Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut the Dominus or owner of stream of the capital Ratue Kosindr Mahindrayudia city of Bangkok in Siam, begs to pay regal respectful compliments for connecting and increasing of sincere friendship, coming to the presence or notice of Somdetch Phranang. Her Majesty Victoria Ragina who is great sovereign of united kingdom of great Britain and Ireland and its all dependencies begging to acquaint thus.

Upon the fifth month of the year of the constellation of the Hare bearing the number of 1217 of Siamese Astronomical Era which is the 5th of our present reign, His Excellency Sir John Bowring came to this country in Your Majesty's steam ship of war stating he is the plenipotentiary from your exalted Majesty by showing credentials being sealed paper from Your Majesty that are believable by us without any doubt, and that his Mission for arrangement of new treaty of friendship and commerce to be more improved than that existed

before, and requesting us to invest certain individual or party of our officers of state with full power or authority to consult and discuss the articles of treaty with him.

Being respectful to Your Majesty's gracious Royal amity and peaceful friendship toward us we have appointed five individuals namely one of our Royal brothers a prince of high rank and four high principal ministers whose names are mentioned in the written treaty to be in meeting and consult with Your Majesty's plenipotentiary to discuss and agree for changing certain articles of former treaty and adding some a few numbers of new articles thereto according to Your Majesty's plenipotentiary's desires to introduce by his opinion for those suitable to the present connection of both countries subjects' interests.

The holding of consultation and forming of new treaty continued but seven days, on the last of which the treaty was completely concluded whereupon Your Majesty's plenipotentiary has delivered to me some valued presents before my royal throne in presence of assembly of our whole council both princes and nobles stating that your exalted Majesty has on his departure from England sent to bestow to myself through his care and conveyance.

The presents are a beautiful watch suspending in fastening pin's head which are coloured with blue and decked with diamonds in position of emblems of great Britain and Ireland, attaching with blue coloured double chains that hold the watch key and white stone seal containing figure of Elephant which is signal of Siam set in golden frame decked with diamond and both blue coloured and finest golden chain for the watch intervening in golden cylinder made in shape of drum ornamented with diamonds, and a finest traveller's writing desk covered with leather bearing the inscription of the name " His Majesty the King of Siam" on its back near to the gilt handle and containing superfine impliments of writing suitable to my own use.

All seemed to be presented for congratulation on the cementing of our country with Your Majesty's subjects in firm amity and friendship by the treaty just concluded.

I have joyfully and respectfully accepted to be kept for the token of Your Majesty's remembrance and our honour.

I beg to return my great many grateful thanks with most many joys to Your gracious Majesty sincerely, we pray to the superagency of the universe that this amity and friendship between both countries shall be continued in firm connection and be happy and peaceful until the end of the heaven and the earth through almighty devine blessings.

We hope that this country inferior in fact which will be connected with British subjects trading and residing here will be continued in peace and happiness and can be well managed by us and our successors from gracious and merciful notices of Your Majesty and Your Majesty's successors on mean while.

Upon this time of departure of Your Majesty's plenipotentiary I have sent some articles of royal presents accompanied herewith for Your Majesty's kind and gracious acceptance. I pray Your Majesty will please to accept and keep for being token of rememberance of Royal friendship though they are very trifling in manufacturers Siamese manufacturers who possesed but considerable skill and ability.

This royal communication sealed on the Friday being fourth day of waxing moon of the sixth month in the year of constellation of the Hare bearing the number of 1217 of Siamese astronomical Era which is the fifth of our present reign corresponding to the 20th April 1855 of Christian Era.

Rajouty House, Grand Palace, Bangkok,
17 August, 1855,
Which is the 5th of the present reign.

RESPECTED SIR,—Having liberty to write your Excellency twice, both before and after receipt of your Excellency's letters under the dates of 11th and 26th May inst., *vià* Singapore, from which I have heard my letters were forwarded to your Excellency by the steamer by my agent, Tan Khon Ching; in my latter letter I have assured your Excellency, and I will send your Excellency some things needable per my ship *Neptune,* which will be sailed for Hong Kong: so now I have liberty to present your Excellency a book of Grammatica of Latin and Siamese language, of which my worthy friend Right Reverend John Baptist Pallegoix has been author and editor, printed here four years ago; in which book there are breift annals and history of Siam related breiftly in Latin language; but I am sorry to say there were much incorrect words in names of countries, &c., and some place of history very different from what we know in fact and statement of the other author of Siamese books, because the information and knowledge of literature were received by the author of that book (Bishop Pallegoix) from persons of considerable knowledge on his being new or just entered to Siam several years ago. He also could not well devoted to be perfect in knowledge of Siamese language more than what needable for his being conductor of his disciples or converted families Christian of Roman Catholic faith here: for this consequence several words will be differ to or from the fact and correct word. I have put two notes in the pages of books in which the Siamese annals or brieft history were printed. I have written also the brieft account of the particulars of the present Royal dynasty how long before we know of; for I think your Excellency will compare with the said times of reigns of the late Kings of Siam said in the books, where also I have put two papers contain brieft account of our dynasty since our

ancestors' late family. Your Excellency would say, I doubt not, it very brieft, not perfectly known. Oj, my dear Sir, I cannot have time to write as ful as enough to my desire for prevention of interupting affairs continually here. I have no also more knowledge of English language to fulfill it in complet manner without assistance from others whom I cannot have with me several hours and days.

I beg to send your Excellency also two copies of the ancient Siamese letters first invented at Northern Siam in the year of Christian era 1282, which letters were copied out from a stone pillar which they were inscribed. I have commenced their translation in English for your Excellency, but I cannot fulfill or do it complete on this occasion. I will send your Excellency on other opportunity, when they were completely done.

Agreeably to your Excellency's request, myself and my younger brother, Krom Hluang Wongsa Dhiraj Snidh, one of our plenipotentiaries appointed to consult with your Excellency in April here, are endeavouring to prepaire the proper history of Siam long particul since foundation of the ancient capital Ayudia, in the 11 era, 1350, and more particular of our dynasty than what I have written your Excellency on this occasion.

We have commenced in Siamese language, firstly sellecting satisfactory particular occurrances from many ancient books of Siamese laws and Cambodian histories, and statements of old respectable and believeable persons whom we ever have heard from. The commenced book now in preparation and rewising is not yet fully as complete as for our satisfaction; when it was thoroughly ended, we will obtain certain interpreter of English language from American missionary to translate in English correct all proper Sanskrit and Siamese names, according to manner of Sanskrit Grammar published lately at Bengal and Ceylon, and will send to fulfill your Excellency's desire; but please allow some time, as long as enough, for we cannot do such prepairation every

day during some, for many of our businesses being interrupted mostly.

Allow me to ask your Excellency for a book of the visit of French Embashy upon the time of Narayu, late King of Siam, marked 4 in the book accompanied, which kind of book I have heard Honorable Consul Harry Parkes has one accompanied him to be with when he has been accompanied your Excellency. Can your Excellency procure such the kind of book and sent me? I think some pages of that book will aid us to rewise the new written story. I have a ancient French book which concerned that Embashy. but I could not read it, except looking some figuerative pictures or plates of shapes and names of things. Also I shall be glad to have some a book relating the detail of the visit of Siamese Ambashy to France in answer upon the said reign, of which embashy it is said one of our ancestors has been head. There is the detail or particular statement written here, said to be statement of that embashy on return from France; but all styles and statements are not in our satisfaction for believe, as it is very exaggerated from the facts of truth, and very opposed to geographical knowledges which we know now to be true facts of the world, as the author of the said statement of the Siamese Embashy upon the said time must have thought that none of Siam would not go to see France country again!

Please accept six golden bottons, suspended or connected with golden chain, made by our goldsmith. These were commenced to be presented to your Excellency or your Excellency's Mission here; but they were not completely done upon that time before your Excellency's departure from hence, so they remained here.

I have got from England two newly-improved golden pens, of which our goldsmith has followed the mode and imitated this beautiful manufacture, as very neat as similar of the European manufacture. One of his manufactured golden pen, with its light gilt handle, I beg to enclose with the said

bottons presented to your Excellency. I trust it will be acceptable to your Excellency for happy writing, as it very light, and heavier than common quils but a few grains, and holding more ink at taking once than common pens of every description.

On this occasion, I beg to send Mr. Nai Dhatt, a servant of my eldest son, his Royal Highness "Krom Mun-Mahe-Duan-Siwawelas," to visit your Excellency, and deliver my letter and presents sent per the *Neptune*, and beg to remain,

Your Excellency faithful friend,

(Signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,
Rex Siamensium.

To his Excellency Sir JOHN BOWRING,
K., LL.D., the Superintendent of
Trade in China, and Governor of
Hongkong and its dependencies, &c.
&c. &c.

THE END.

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